Laguna Road Wars: 21 Arrests/4

Darren Thurston Finally Free!/27

Earth First!

Brigid 1995 **Vol. XV, No. III**

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ESA Takes a Licking

BY CRAIG BENEVILLE

The Endangered Species Act is being kicked, thrown down, dragged through the mud and sized up for a pair of concrete socks. And this is all *prior* to reauthorization, scheduled for this year before a Congress savagely hostile to retaining even a shred of our nation's natural heritage. Disappointingly, the corporate environmentalist response to these threats has been capitulation and defensive posturing.

On December 21 the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) announced a mass of "administrative rule changes," ostensibly designed to "ensure consistency in administration of the [ESA]." However, an examination of the new rules reveals a back-door attempt to thwart enforcement of the act and make it more "user friendly" to those who are no friend to endangered plants and critters.

The proposed changes, issued in the form of guidelines, range from weakening Section 7 regulations, which require federal agencies to consult with the FWS when their actions affect a listed species, to new rules making it more difficult for citizens to petition to list species.

The FWS also issued new guidelines for Habitat Conservation Plans (HCP's) under section 10(a) of the act. The FWS uses HCP's to license private landowners to destroy endangered wildlife. If a private landowner has an endangered species "problem," they can apply for an "incidental take permit," which allows the landowner to destroy habitat as long as a plan has been approved to conserve the species. The obvious problem is that nearly all species are endangered due to habitat destruction. HCP's, which regularly allow 50 to 75 percent of an endangered species *existing* habitat to be destroyed, are clearly an absurd way to maintain a species, much less see it recover as the ESA mandates. For example, the HCP for the Coachella Valley fringe-toed lizard allowed for an incredible 89 percent of its extant habitat to be developed.

Incorporated into the new guidelines is Babbitt's "no surprises" policy, announced last fall. "No surprises" states that once a landowner has implemented an HCP, no futher conservation measures will be requested. Period. Even if new scientific information reveals that the plan is wholly inadequate. Not surprisingly, HCP plans are designed by developer-paid consultants.

The FWS promulgates such administrative changes unilaterally. The only restriction is that the changes may not be contrary to the intent of the act as indicated by its legislative history. The Biodiversity Legal Foundation has filed a 60-day notice of intent to sue on the new regulations. They argued with crystal-clear logic that decreased protection for critically imperiled species is outside the intent of the act. (Phone your local FWS for a copy of the proposed guidelines; the comment period ends February 21.)

The proposed administrative changes foreshadow the Clinton Administration's vision of the ESA. That future, as Babbitt proposes it, lies in ecosystem-based, cooperative plans such as California's Natural Communities Conservation Planning (NCCP) process. As stated in its founding legislation, NCCP seeks to provide the "regional protection...of natural wildlife diversity, while allowing compatible development and growth."

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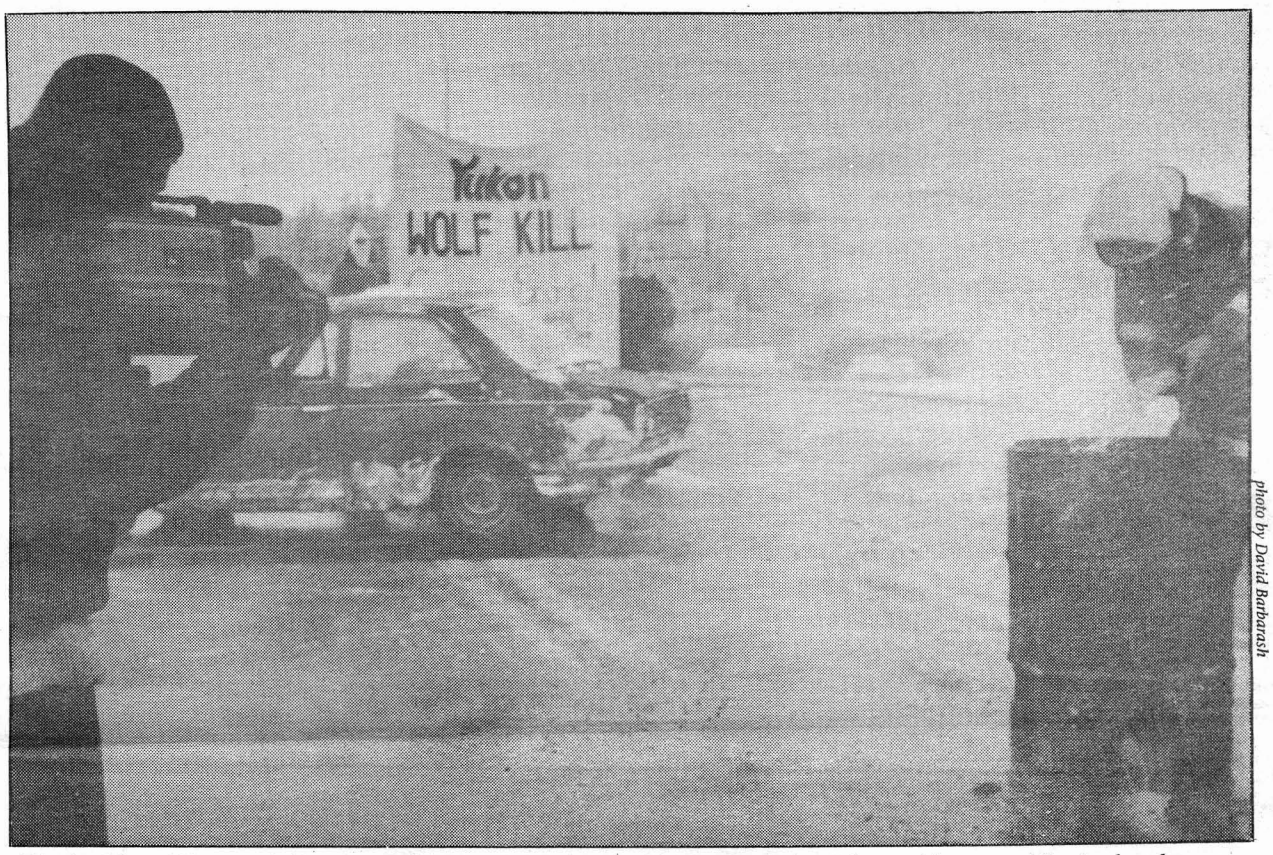

photo by David Barbarash

Friends of the Wolf protested the Yukon wolf kill January 11 by shutting down the Alaska Highway with a car and flaming barrels.

Activists Blockade Yukon Highway

FOW Protests Wolf Kill

BY DAVID BARBARASH

On January 11, Friends of the Wolf (FOW) shut down the Alaska Highway outside Whitehorse in the Yukon Territories. They erected a barricade using a junker car and 50-gallon barrels set ablaze in the middle of the road. In the first major action of this year's campaign, the group sent a strong message to the Yukon Territorial Government: Stop the aerial wolf kill!

Planning for the action began several days earlier when an abandoned car was donated to the campaign. The FOW snow-removal team dug the old Toyota out of its frigid home, where it had lived motionless for the past 18 years. Amazingly, three of the four tires held air when inflated! Activists acquired four 50-gallon drums, chiseled their lids off and punched vent holes through the sides while others created the banners and signs.

At noon on the day of the action, the A Team prepared the car for towing and filled the drums with wood, diesel gas, and other nasty petroleum products. While towing the car to the site, a passing motorist waved them over, pointing out that a tire on the car was flat and the rim was sparking on the highway. The group had some moments of concern and debate since there was a lot of diesel in the back of the truck, however, they decided to move forward.

The A Team passed a highway rest area at 1:55 pm, 5 minutes from action time, and the B Team moved out behind them. The A Team pulled over onto the shoulder across from a weigh station to unhook the car while the B Team dropped off flaggers with "Stop the Wolf Kill" signs to reroute traffic and pass out flyers.

Once the car was unhooked, the crew pushed it into the middle of the highway. Two weigh station officials came to advise the group that they would cause an accident if they didn't get the car out of the way. The activists thanked them for their concern and proceeded. The officials soon realized that this was not an ordinary case of a stalled vehicle and ran back to call the cops. As soon as the car was in position (after much delay— why does the highway get so busy at critical moments?) activists unloaded the drums from the truck. FOW's get-away driver then left the scene with the suspicious truck (but not before almost getting stuck in the ditch!)

At this point, chaos ensued. Two vigilant officials tried to prevent the drums from going onto the road, and kicked over two on the shoulder. The other two were placed and FOW's fire safety agent ignited the contents with flares. Not satisfied with kicking over only two drums, one of the officials grabbed the banner and knocked over a burning drum in the middle of the highway. The contents spilled out, and what began as a safe, contained fire quickly became an uncontrolled mass of flame and black smoke. The highway was ablaze!

FOW's fire safety agent was not impressed.

Having caught all the action on film and video, the Friends of the Wolf were pleased to acknowledge the assistance of the Yukon Government officials in the campaign to end the wolf kill. The same guy who was having so much fun kicking over the drums, perhaps sensing the danger of being caught red-handed on film, approached one of FOW's media agents and attempted to grab his camera. While the photographer dropped to

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EARTH FIRST!

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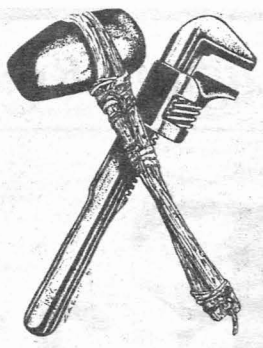


Shrinking Pains

BY LESLIE HEMSTREET

When I first heard Jesse Helms insinuate that Bill Clinton would be shot if he set foot in North Carolina, I realized that I have something in common with both of these men.

Like Jesse Helms, I too have pondered Bill Clinton's demise—because of his abysmal failure to keep his campaign promise to protect the environment. With Al Gore and Bruce Babbitt in Clinton's arsenal, I had foolishly, temporarily suspended my lifelong disdain for legislative politics, and allowed hope to slither into my usually impenetrable heart.

Like Bill Clinton, Jesse Helms better shoot me if he sees me coming, because I'm one of his. I was raised in the south by his generation, and I know how his sick little mind works. Now that the Republicans have taken over, we have to look at the possibility that we will be organizing without environmental laws.

Though many Earth First!ers are cynical about government, we have all benefited from using environmental laws to further our struggles. Now that our relatively infantile movement has been dropped on its head, we need to assess the brain damage. We need to take a hard look at the opportunities lost with the Clinton administration, and do some informed speculation about the potential disasters ahead.

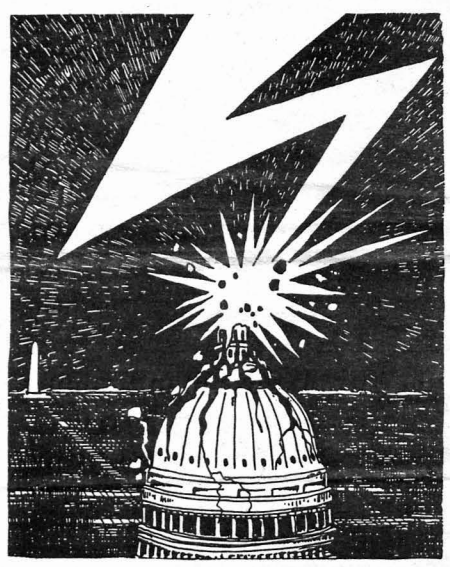
The Clinton administration's broken promises read like a casualty list for mainstream environmentalists who foolishly invested their whole wad in legislative pursuits (see Jeffrey St. Clair's *Losing It at the Courthouse* in this issue). Every good yuppie knows that you should diversify your investments. Their market has now crashed.

Included in the litany of failures: unfulfilled promises to reauthorize and strengthen the Clean Water Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, the Superfund program, and, saddest of all, the Endangered Species Act. Further, the administration was unable to reform any mining, grazing, or pesticide laws, including the dangerously antiquated 1872 Mining Law.

These catastrophes were worsened exponentially by the awful timing of the Republicans taking over just as the wishy-washy Whitehouse weenies may have been getting around to trying again.

Among the Republican threats is the ominously vague Contract on America which was introduced by House Majority leader Newt Gingrich who, ironically, used to teach courses on the environment at Tulane University. For those who dig, the Contract on America dimly illuminates the Republican pro-business/anti-environmental agenda.

Naturally, the Republicans don't want to appear too anti-environmental. After all, many Americans consider themselves environmentalists. What the Republicans want, so far that is, is for environmental regulations to be imposed only "after considering whether the health and safety risks they address are significant and the benefits justify the costs." Essentially, they want an "Economic Impact Statement" for any environmental acts. This sounds reasonable, until you ask what they mean by "significant" and "justifiable." You don't need to have read any Franz Kafka novels to imagine the possible labyrinthine machinations involved in creating this "EIS" while the destruction grinds on.



The Republicans further advocate a law requiring compensation for private property owners if environmental regulations diminish their property values. In essence, the Republicans demand that their landed buddies be paid ransom in order to release the land that they've kidnapped.

The Republicans would also require that no federal environmental laws be enacted at the state and local levels without accompanying financial assistance.

Since the Republicans have been gloating about how they are going to reduce the size and spending of the US government, one can only interpret this platform to mean that all environmental laws will be rendered totally ineffective due to insufficient funds.

Try as we might, we cannot ignore the whining of the constituency who elected the worse of two evils. I hear chainsaws. The Northwest Forestry Association and the Douglas Timber Operators have promised to "seriously pursue" dismantling the Endangered Species Act and all other environmental laws, now that they have the right people in office. As it is, the Endangered Species Act is being silently dismembered (see *ESA Takes a Licking* in this issue). Environmentalists can only cringe at the prospect of the ESA being subjected to an act of the 104th Congress.

As the song goes, "You can have free speech as long as you don't say too much." By the same token, we can have powerful laws as long as we don't try to enforce them. My heart is shouting to my brain: "I told you so!" It is much harder to recover from a crushed hope than from the constant consummation of cynicism. My sole comfort is knowing that I chose the correct organizing tactic in the first place—direct action. Sometimes, being right sucks.

If this turn of events is not enough to convince mainstream eco-wieners to adopt a no-compromise policy and to use grassroots organizing methods, *what will*? If all the lobbyists and their cheerleaders had been willing to lock down or blockade arm-in-arm and neck-to-neck with Earth First!, where would our movement be today? I empathize with the passion that directed some of the suit-and-tie (pumps-and-'hose?) environmental efforts. But as my mind circles around looking for a place to lie down, I keep reaching the same conclusion: direct action is the most meaningful organizing tool. KEEP PUTTING THE EARTH FIRST! —LESLIE HEMSTREET

In Memory

The Journal staff was saddened to learn of the death of Don Graham at his parent's house on December 30. Don worked as a short term editor on the Journal both in Missoula and most recently for the Yule, 1994 issue. He was a dedicated activist and will be missed by many. Adios, Don.

Brigid by Peggy Sue McRae

Brigid celebrates the initial stirring of Spring. Foliage from the past year dies away leaving the seed. A seed concentrates an entire life form into pure essence. The almost symbolic state of a seed is encapsulated in a protective shell for the period of gestation.

Brigid is a good time of year to let the foliage of our lives die away and draw into our own essence. Sometimes we need to withdraw into our own protective shell. If we stay too long within the shell, eventually we will die. Yet, dormant periods of healing and nurturing are as essential to our growth and vitality are is the sun and the rain.

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Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or clearly printed. Send a SASE if you would like them returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via EcoNet. Art or photographs (prints are best, negatives are good, slides are fair) are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. They will be returned if requested.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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SCHEDULE

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TOWARD STRONGER ALLIANCES:

A Response to "Rethinking Environmental-First Nations Relationships"

BY MIRA GOLDBERG

My first response to David Orton's article (Yule, 1994, *EF!J*) was one of dismay—"here comes another white guy destroying any hope of building trust with indigenous activists." My second response was that we do need to bring this discussion out in the open so that we know what needs to be done to move forward.

This article is an attempt to present another way of "rethinking" relationships between non-indigenous environmentalists and indigenous liberation activists. My analysis is rooted in my experiences working as a non-indigenous activist, in solidarity with sovereign native nations in the region known by the colonial name of "British Columbia." Any discussion on this issue requires indigenous perspectives as well as non-indigenous perspectives, so read on with a recognition that this discussion is, at this point, seriously lacking.

Before I respond to the specifics of Orton's article, I want to establish a context for the discussion. I see elements of Orton's article as reflecting a tendency among some radical environmentalists to make a distinction between "human-centered" issues and "earth-centered" issues, and dismiss "human-centered" issues as anthropocentric and therefore not worth discussing. My difficulty with the "anthropocentric vs. ecocentric" split is this: In order to halt the destruction of the earth, we must understand what is destroying the earth. This involves looking at power relations between humans.

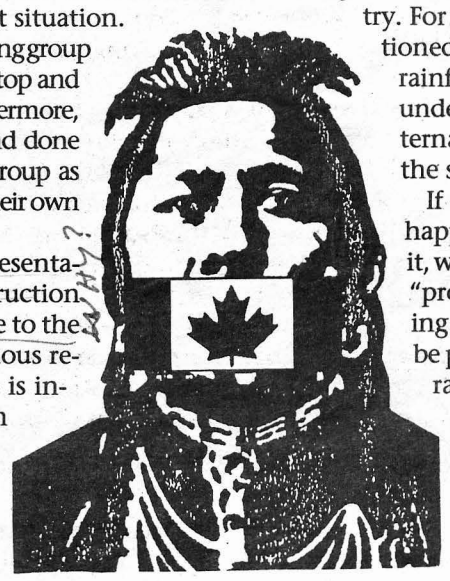
In North America, corporate destruction of the land is intertwined with genocide of native peoples and colonial occupation of native lands. To destroy capitalism, we must support indigenous liberation, even if that appears "human-centered."

I have heard many non-indigenous environmentalists try to sidestep supporting native sovereignty and jurisdiction by saying "no one owns the land." Until humans reach cultural consensus on this idea, the reality is that human control over land use plays a huge part in shaping the futures of the land and those who live on it. This issue of jurisdiction tends to alarm non-indigenous activists who are used to agitating for the return of "our land," for "our government" to be accountable to its citizens.

But what we consider "our countries" are, in reality, neo-colonial nations that are currently occupying native nations. Much of this land has never been ceded by war or treaty and legally remains under the jurisdiction of the sovereign native nations that inhabit these lands.

Orton believes that certain environmental activists ally themselves with indigenous nations "out of a genuine sense of wanting to atone in some way for past atrocities and the dispossession of native lands." There are indeed past atrocities; there are also current atrocities. Dispossession of indigenous people is still happening (e.g. relocation of Cheslatta people as part of the construction of the Alcan/"Kemano II" dam on the Nechako River). Because the genocide is current and continuing, we can take action now, not to atone for "past sins" but to rectify the current situation.

Part of colonialism is that the colonizing group defines history to keep itself firmly on top and conceal possibilities for resistance. Furthermore, it portrays the colonialism as "over and done with" and focuses on the colonized group as corrupt or otherwise collaborating in their own oppression.



If we took Orton's article as representative of indigenous responses to destruction of the earth, we would have to come to the conclusion that there is no indigenous resistance. Obviously Orton's picture is incomplete. What about the 18-month blockade by Protectors of Mother Earth? Milton Born With A Tooth and other Peigan peoples' resistance to the Oldman Dam? The Lubicon Nation's fight against Unocal's Sour Gas Processing Project? Qwa-Ba-Diwa resistance to Fletcher Challenge and MacMillan Bloedel's destruction of the areas known as the Carmanah/Walbran? These are only a few examples of militant native resistance in defense of the land and environment. I am not trying to idealize native resistance, I am pointing out that indigenous resistance is current and widespread. This means that possibilities for alliance are there, if non- indigenous people are willing to make the effort.

Orton focuses only on native collaborators and mentions indigenous responses to collaboration only as an aside. Of course there are native collaborators—there are collaborators in every resistance movement. But indigenous people are capable of addressing this collaboration. Terri John of the Lil'Wat Peoples Movement writes, "we sovereigntists beyond the treaty frontier are no longer prepared to have our sovereign liberties bargained away by collaborating natives..." It is up to non-indigenous people to search out this indigenous analysis, to think about it and discuss it, but not to try to take leadership in criticizing the collaborators or otherwise determining the progress of native liberation. I think our time would be better spent looking at our own failures to build alliances with indigenous people rather than indigenous failures to live up to our own "environmentally pure" standards.

Another difficulty in Orton's article is his simplification of agreements between native nations and industry. For example, Orton cites "native-sanctioned logging of temperate old-growth rainforest in Clayoquot Sound which undercut the growing national and international protest movement to save the sound's rainforest."

If we are to look seriously at what happened in Clayoquot and learn from it, we must look at the weaknesses in the "protest movement's" alliance building that allowed the forest industry to be perceived as a stronger ally than the radical environmental movement. Those weaknesses included disagreements within the indigenous/non-indigenous Clayoquot communities on strategy and direction, past relationships between non-indigenous activists and indigenous communities in the area, politics within the native nations, and many other important factors that played a part. The Interim Measures agreement that Orton refers to was not signed in a vacuum. Without the context we can't learn anything from it.

The problem is not that non-indigenous environmental activists are uncritically embracing solidarity with native peoples. My observation of what happened in Clayoquot is that the natives signed the agreement precisely because the local non-indigenous environmental activists did *not* fully embrace an alliance with the local indigenous people, in the distant and more recent past.

There are real barriers to alliance-building between indigenous and non-indigenous activists. Issues of class and culture cannot be ignored. When we look at why alliances have failed, we must look at these issues.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear SFB:

A round of applause for the insights and the courage of David Orton for his December 21 article in the *Journal*, "Rethinking Environmental/First Nations Relationships." Rarely do we find someone genuinely willing to put the Earth first even in the face of extremely sensitive native issues, but who also examines the causes of the destruction. I fully agree that we must find the native biocentrists within each tribe as opposed to giving blanket support to all native people regardless of their stance on the environment, especially the often corrupt "band councils" set up by the Canadian federal government.

Having been active in the Clayoquot Sound movement for the past few years, it frustrates me more than anything to see the mainstream environmental movement give unconditional support to the government-funded "tribal council" of the Nuu-chah-nulth people in Clayoquot who have signed an "interim agreement" with the BC government and the deforestation giant, MacMillan-Bloedel, that may give them economic opportunities in ravaging the old growth. After 932 people were arrested for blockading the logging road and incredible international pressure, unprecedented in North American history, you'd think that the forests of Clayoquot would be protected by now. But low and behold, even when the incoming federal Liberal party made a pre-election promise in April of 1993 to protect all of Clayoquot Sound as a national park reserve which allows native land claims to still be settled on park lands and allows subsistence uses but *does not* allow commercial resource extraction (e.g. commercial logging), the timid and anthropocentrically politically-correct environmental movement kept a "hands off" approach to the issue and did not even pressure the Liberals to keep their promise for a national park reserve because the tribal council did not want the park (perhaps because they want to commercially log?). A national park reserve, as a Canadian designation, allows more protection for wild ecosystems than any other protected area next to national parks (which don't allow even subsistence uses and land claims to be settled on park lands). Thus, when the election came on Oct. 25, 1994, the new Prime Minister Jean Chretien of the newly-elected Liberal Party had the leeway to back away from their election promise. If the environmental movement had the biocentric commitment to get on his throat the very moment he made that promise, it would have been infinitely more difficult for him to wiggle out of it when the election came as it would have been a major scandal: Hence, we've lost the best opportunity to protect the world's largest low-elevation temperate rainforest, and it looks like there is little chance now to get the entire area protected from commerical use.

I've heard people in Earth First! claim that the interests of native people must be defended at all costs, even if this means native logging of old growth (mind you, not subsistence logging for their own use, but commercial logging for capitalist markets of 200 million people). I'd suggest that these people get the hell out of Earth First!, as their stance contradicts what the very name Earth First! stands for. While it is important to understand why some native people would take that stance (they are in poverty due to the intrusion of industrial society and thus seek a way out by joining the system they have been forced to participate as lessers in), it is important to separate the cause from the effect. Just because a man has been abused as a child does not mean that the woman, while she is being raped by him, should let him proceed even if she understands why he is that way. She is more innocent than he is. Similarly, the most innocent party of all are the 30 million species on the planet, *each one* of which is just as important as humans, native or non-native. In other words, while in the long term we need to take down the industrial system that has put many native people in the position as environmental destroyers just as everyone else, in the short term we must oppose environmental destruction by anyone and everyone, regardless of their culture. Part of the solution lies in actively seeking out allies with native biocentrists, as opposed to endorsing the "apples" (red on the outside, white on the inside) in the band council and elsewhere who are often propped up by the government.

For equal rights for All Species,

—PINE MARTEN

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Laguna Road Wars Escalate; 21 Arrests

Sherrif's deputies attempting to remove protestor with bolt cutters.

BY PATRICK MITCHELL

Orange County's Laguna road war escalated in December as a four-day battle between road builders and environmentalists left nearly 200 acres of prime habitat scarred and saw twenty-one protesters arrested.

The 9th District Federal Court of Appeals' decided to lift the injunction forbidding construction on a portion of the San Joaquin Hills Tollroad. This came as a surprise to both sides; however, the road building forces were quicker to respond (for background on the injunction see the Lughnasadh, 1994 issue of the *Journal*). The injunction, granted in June 1994, barred the contractor from working on a chunk of undeveloped land more than four miles wide, including a portion of the University of California, Irvine Ecological Preserve and the Laguna Coast Wilderness Park. Within an hour of the decision, more than a dozen earth movers began rolling over the last undeveloped coastal canyons between Malibu and Baja, California.

Word of the decision came just after 10 am, December 20, and by 5 pm most of the old-growth oak woodland in Laguna Canyon had been torn from the earth. The first demonstrator on the scene attempted to block the machines from entering the canyon but she was outmatched against the heavy equipment. She was arrested anyway after a one-on-one confrontation with a Cat D-10. She was cited and released on the condition that she stay off the construction site for the rest of the day.

December 21 started quite differently. Twelve activists yarned themselves to machinery just before workers arrived. Five brave warriors chose to use Kryptonite yarn instead of the standard cotton variety. The seven women and five men managed to shut down most of the equipment for several hours before all twelve were arrested. While activists battled on the front line, others were in court seeking restraining orders until new appeals could be filed.

By the end of the second day, the scene in Laguna Canyon was one of devastation. The slopes on both sides of the canyon had been stripped bare. The plants and animals that once lived there now lay in huge piles on the canyon floor. The aroma of sage that once was so common here was replaced with the smell of burning diesel fuel. A lone coyote, confused by the changes in her surroundings, wandered through the quarter-mile-wide scar across the canyon, cautious but undeterred by the snorting and clanking yellow giants bellowing around her.

Sandbag-and-debris blockades were erected along a crossing of Laguna Canyon Road used by the destruction company's trucks and equipment. A ten-person crew with a Cat D-4 was called in to clear the blockade, costing the company more time and money. The Transportation Corridor Agency (TCA—the government agency managing construction of the road) said the delays caused by court cases and the civil disobedience campaign would cost more than $38 million. Despite the recent bankruptcy of Orange County, the road remains a top priority for county political leaders, as witnessed by the $3.1 million emergency construction loan to tide the TCA over in the wake of the bankruptcy—this as many of the county's public school teachers went unpaid during the Christmas season.

As the third day of actions began, two demonstrators locked themselves to each other through the tracks of a D-10, using a three-inch diameter pipe. The machine sat idle for several hours while the Laguna Police and Fire Departments figured out how to remove the protestors. Once the removal started, a third demonstrator—the Executive Director of the mainstream Laguna Canyon Conservancy—locked himself to the underside of the machine, forcing it to sit useless into the afternoon. A fire department crew eventually used bolt cutters to extricate him. All three demonstrators were cited and released.

That mainstream environmental leaders were getting arrested may seem peculiar. On the contrary, it was emblematic of the diverse, community-based arrest pool. A seventy-one year old grandmother, a retired high-school physics teacher and various other "upstanding" citizens were also arrested.

In the early hours of day four, three activists slipped onto the work site as Wackenhut Security guards scrambled to notify police and contractors of the occupation. Using lock boxes, the protestors attached themselves to machinery. Sometime just before noon, protesters along the canyon were notified that the construction crews had been given the day off and that only erosion control crews would be on the site. One of the protesters, in a daring dash for freedom, unlocked and darted toward the backcountry. Two sheriff's deputies followed in hot pursuit. They came within a few feet of capturing their quarry before running out of steam and giving up the chase. Meanwhile, roadside demonstrators cheered and howled wildly from two hundred yards away.

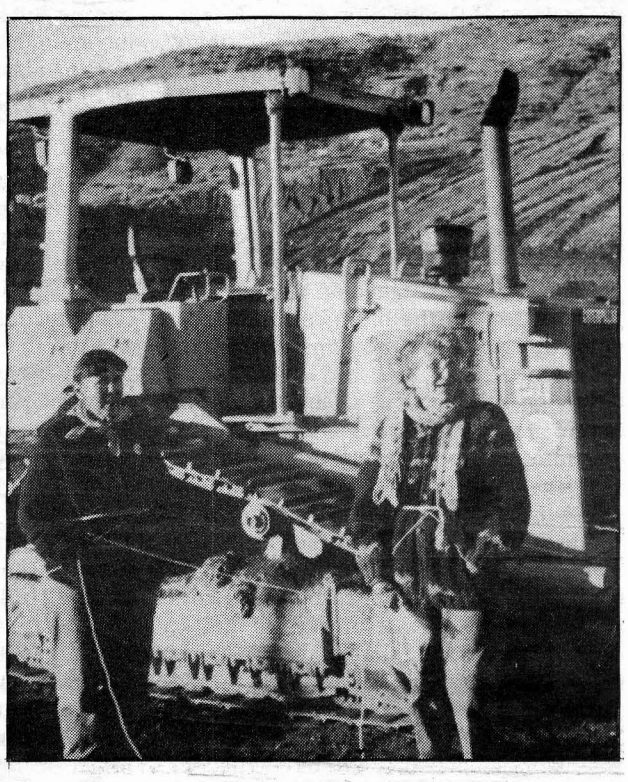
It was later discovered that erosion controls should have been completed days before, but the contractor chose to remove habitat instead. The TCA even lied in court, claiming that mitigation measures were complete.

That night, weary activists held a candlelight vigil to mourn the destruction of the canyons. However, feelings of despair quickly changed to feelings of joy when word reached the demonstrators that the appeals court granted a two-week restraining order, barring any work except that necessary to stabilize eroding slopes.

The restraining order was to last until January 5, when the Natural Resources Defense Council and several environmental groups could argue that the Interior Department failed to protect the California gnatcatcher, a federally protected species, by allowing the road to slice through its habitat. On that day, a panel of judges heard arguments from environmentalists, the Department of Justice and the TCA, then adjourned the court leaving the injunction in place but giving no indication as to when they might make a final decision. As of January 23, no decision had been made.

The impact of the grading in Laguna Canyon continues to be felt, however. Heavy rainstorms pouring in off the Pacific Ocean have pelted the canyon with nearly ten inches of rain in a week and sent mud flows from the grading site into downtown Laguna Beach, destroying more than 30 businesses and washing away much of Laguna's "Main Beach" and boardwalk. With more rain expected, the problems can only worsen.

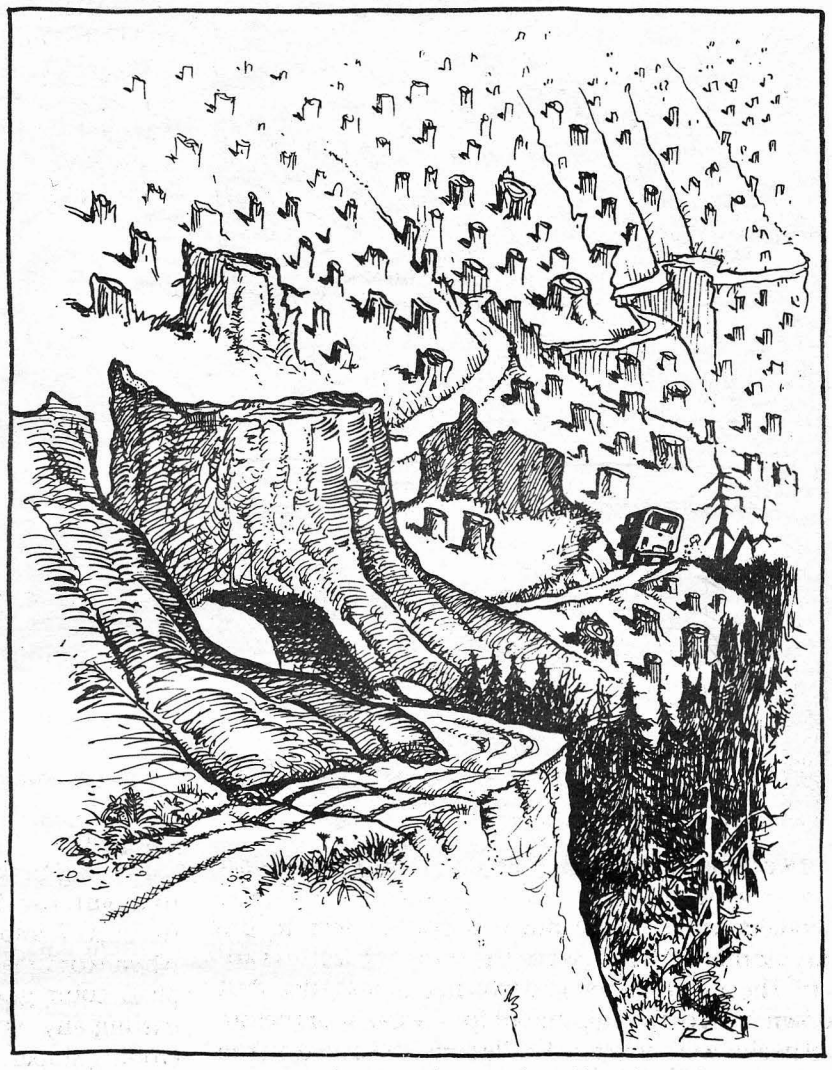
Patrick Mitchell is an ecologist with the Peninsular Ranges Biodiversity Project.



A Lot of Bad News From Idaho

Salvage Sales Spread Like Wildfire

BY ERIK RYBERG



My friends, there is some big trouble in Idaho, and we need to think of something fast.

First, the injunction preventing logging and roadbuilding in Cove/Mallard was lifted in early December. There is one other lawsuit which may delay things another year, if it is successful. If it is not, the Freddies will be constructing roads and logging next summer in Cove/Mallard, and it will be very grim.

Next there are the salvage sales being spawned from last year's "devastating wildfires" here. One of these, the Thunderbolt Wildfire Recovery Project proposes to log 18 million board-feet of burned up lodgepole sticks in the Caton Lake Roadless Area of the Boise and Payette National Forests. This gruesome and repugnant plan proposes to pay for so-called fisheries improvements with the proceeds from the Freddy plan to scrape all the trees off the steep and fragile hillsides of the South fork of the Salmon River.

Normally I would use the word "extortion" to describe such a plan; after all it asks us to approve a logging project in order to rehabilitate the primary chinook spawning habitat in Idaho. But extortion implies that you get something in exchange for something else you want, even though you don't have much choice in making the exchange. This plan is different. This plan doesn't give us anything we might want. The celebrated "watershed improvements" are really just road improvements: resurfacing, paving, new culverts—all of it needed to accommodate new log truck traffic. They plan to turn the helicopter landings into new parking lots for recreationalists.

Third, there is the Boise River Wildfire Recovery Project. Doesn't that sound nice? Isn't it nice the Freddies at last are going to recover something, instead of destroying it? Well, let me tell you what they intend to "recover"—275 million board-feet of timber from four separate, adjacent roadless areas—by logging them.

Pour yourself a tall glass of whisky, or radiator fluid, and ponder that for a moment—275 million-board feet is nearly four times the size of Cove/Mallard.

John McCarthy, "Conversation Director" of the Idaho Conservation League (ICL), told the press that ICL favors an alternative proposal which only calls for the logging of 225 million board feet. Such are conservationists in these parts.

Bear in mind these two sales are only the first of many which will come out of last year's fires. I promise cheerfully to report on future sales as they proceed.

In other news, the Freddies have come up with an exciting new idea to turn the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness (the nation's biggest outside Alaska) into a "single administrative unit." That means they'll turn it into its own forest, with its own supervisors, its own district rangers, and everything. Environmental groups are falling all over themselves in a rush to congratulate the Freddies on their new recognition of the importance of wilderness. But do not be fooled; there is just one reason the Freddies are doing this, and it involves "management." A flyer put out to explain the proposal identifies six objectives of this plan. They are going to "manage ecological values," "manage exotic weeds," "manage fish habitat," "manage fire," "manage wildlife populations," and "manage mining claims." The Freddies are currently dividing up the wilderness into "management areas" and plan to have the whole thing completed by December 1995.

Finally, I must put in a few words about chinook salmon. Just 800 of these wonderful creatures made it back to Idaho last summer. This fish is on a straight nose-dive and will be extinct very soon. Our new governor, Phil Batt, is doing his best to put the skids on the proposal to drawdown the reservoirs in the Columbia River dams to help the fish in their migration to the Pacific Ocean. Now I am not a big fan of drawdowns, personally. Like all clear thinking, reasonable people, I favor immediate obliteration of every dam in the Columbia River Basin, and to hell with people's toaster ovens and hairdryers, and my computer. But drawdowns are *something*. Batt just appointed two raving lunatics, a public affairs officer from Potlatch (enormous logging company) and a minion of Republican Sen. Larry Craig, to the Northwest Power Planning Council. The council makes decisions regarding operations of dams in the Columbia River Basin. The entire bunch vocally oppose drawdowns, as well as outright dam obliteration, and calls for more study.

The Snake River chinook will go extinct in my lifetime, and Idaho's leadership can't see cause to budge even a little from our wasteful lifestyle to try to prevent such a thing. Logging projects four times the size of Cove/Mallard will be undertaken next summer just outside Boise, and they're being called "Recovery Projects." The River of No Return is being carved up and eyeballed by a bunch of hell-bent logging enthusiasts known as Freddies. And it is now a felony in Idaho to invite someone to come and engage in a protest designed to thwart a logging operation.

It's getting very bad. We must hurry. We must think of something. We must find a way to be worthy of this earth, to be worthy of our home, and to be worthy of a fish like the chinook salmon, who like no other creature understands *struggle* and understands *home*.

Astronomers Confronted at Conference

BY PAUL JOHNSON

One never knows what wondrous news the ringing of one's telephone might bring, but on the day in question it was music to the ear. Yes, the American Astronomical Society would be holding it's annual conference in Tucson, bringing with it 2,200 astronomers and multiple opportunities to embarrass the University of Arizona (UA), the Vatican, the Max Planck Institute, the Research Corporation, and those dreaded Italian eco-plunderers from Arcetri.

After stirring up the conference scene with an afternoon of low-key picketing and flyering on Sunday, we were primed for the real action on Tuesday. What better way to stir things up than a press conference/demo in the middle of *their* conference. Hosted by Earth First!, Arizona AIM, the Apaches for Cultural Preservation, the Apache Survival Coalition, and SEAC-SW, the action invoked the ire of the bad guys and helped educate many potential astronomy allies, many of whom signed a petition opposing the project.

The most pathetic sight was UA ass-tronomers trying to hand out propaganda to their colleagues. The most wondrous sight was the six-story banner unfurled from an adjacent building, blasting the telescope proponents for their blatant racism and greed. Sean Burlew and Jess Daniels dangled with the banner, ensuring that it stayed in the bad guys faces for several hours. Authorities remain mystified as to how the activists obtained access to the locked roof!

Many astronomers expressed sympathy. Elias Brinks of the National Radio Astronomy Observatory in Socorro, N.M., told several Apaches that he wished the opposing groups could find common ground.

"It's a bit late for peaceful resolution, but something is very wrong when you have environmentalists pitted against astronomers. "We both love nature," Brinks said. Dick Walker from the U.S. Navy Observatory in Flagstaff remarked that "many astronomers were not aware of the controversy until being confronted by the protesters Tuesday.

Both Sean and Jess were cited (by very nice cops who were actually jazzed by the whole gig) for trespassing as were Chris Ford, Trevor Rainwater, and Dan Patterson for providing technical assistance. NO SCOPES!

UPDATE:

In a surprise to activists, logging has once again begun in Cove/Mallard. Cutting began on Noble road on January 12. If you can come and help in the defense of this area, or need more information, contact the Cove/Mallard Coalition (listed in the directory).

Look in the next issue of the *Journal* for information on another lawsuit that may affect Cove/Mallard and six other national forests in Idaho.

Losing It at the Courthouse

Dwyer Upholds Option 9

BY JEFFREY ST. CLAIR

So this is how it ends: with a whimper, after all. The long-running spotted owl case, Seattle Audubon Society v. Lyons—the Jarndyce v. Jarndyce of environmental litigation (see *Bleak House* by C. Dickens)—came to a bitter dénouement on December 22 when Judge William Dwyer ruled that President Clinton's cookie-cutter plan for the northwest forests, the odious Option 9, barely meets the minimum standards of federal law. The decision clears the way for the resumption of "legal" logging in the ancient forests of the northwest for the first time in nearly five years and may presage the doom of the northern spotted owl, marbled murrelet, coho salmon, and hundreds of other old-growth dependent species.

The latest round of courtroom arguments held before Dwyer raised hypocrisy and equivocation to the level of high legal art. The government, for example, argued that although Option 9 may not provide for viable populations of spotted owls and salmon, it would provide them with viable habitat 100 years from now—a concept that will be forever known as virtual ecology. Then, in a dazzling dance of legalistic sophistry, the G-Men told the court that Option 9 should become the law of northwest forests. Not because it saved what's left of the old-growth ecosystem for future generations (if there are any), but because it harmed all interests equally. "Nobody's happy with this plan, your Honor," squeaked one of Janet Reno's barristers to the incredulous Dwyer. "That must mean we got it right!" In other words, Option 9 balances the inequities. Ever thusly do the Clintonoids demean the politics of meaning.

The timber industry, disgruntled at being confined in Dwyer's court rather than allowed to rumble down the amiable corridors of the DC Circuit, simply sat out much of the action, pouting like an attention-deficit adolescent being called one more time into the principal's office. Of course, the best the industry was ever going to do in the courts depended entirely on what the administration (and some environmentalists) was willing to give them—in this case, about a billion board feet a year. Never satiated, however, the timber industry continues to plead its case to the new congress, which it will ask to over-ride Option 9 through the bag of legislative dirty tricks favored by the Senate appropriations committee (now headed by the Merchant of Menace: Mark Hatfield).

For his part, Hatfield says some kind of fast-tracking of Option 9 may be justified. In order to speed up the flow of timber sales, the most important procedural protections of Option 9 (the watershed analysis) will have to be set aside with sufficiency language for the next two to three years. If that doesn't cut it, Hatfield intimates, more drastic measures may be called for.

Meanwhile, the performance of the environmentalists before the bar was a mixed bag. Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund and attorney Mike Axline, at the Western Law Clinic, drafted wicked briefs that thoroughly dissected the gaping procedural and substantive flaws of Option 9—particularly regarding the plan's treatment of spotted owls (which concealed the fact that they may be extinct inside 50 years) and the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS)'s feeble economic analysis (which hides the fact that it is far more expensive to log these forests than to simply leave them alone). The problem with the original plaintiff's case was not its critique, but its utter lack of a clear remedy. Ultimately, the best they could come up with (under persistent prodding by Dwyer) was to suggest that if Option 9 was overturned, the Forest Service should be allowed to manage our forests under Option 1 (200 million board feet of logging a year from only younger forests) until a new plan is approved. But this undercut their own argument that the EIS was flawed, which, if true, meant that Option 1 was just as "illegal" as Option 9. In Dwyer's court, logic usually rules.

Of course, the original plaintiffs faced an even bigger problem—they had already given the green light to some federal timber sales in owl habitat that were

consistent with Option 9. Now they were asking Dwyer to show more conscience than they had—an unlikely prospect even for a judge of Dwyer's sterling reputation.

There was another huge hurdle for the plaintiffs. In the previous Dwyer injunctions, the chief witness called by the enviros to testify against the Bush era spotted owl plans was the chief author of Option 9, Jack Ward Thomas—appointed to the post in a rare spark of cynical genius from the dullards that run the Clinton White House.

Only the courageous complaints filed by the Native Forest Council, Save the West and the Forest Conservation Council cut straight to the truth: the public forests of the northwest can withstand no more logging. Any further risk for public forests and wildlife, argues Native Forest Council's attorney Charlie Carpenter, is too much. Dwyer seemed momentarily swayed by this argument. He requested supplementary briefs on the subject, leading many armchair jurists tutored on the finer points of the law by Court TV (including yours truly, in a sophomoric moment of insipid giddiness) to assume that a new injunction of a revolutionary sort would soon follow.

However, Dwyer's query turned out to be simply a matter of a probative (and bored?) judge exhibiting a high degree of intellectual curiosity and playfulness for an innovative legal argument. He drew his gun, but didn't pull the trigger. In a nutshell, Dwyer ruled that Option 9 was the worst the administration could do within the current structure of the law.

Dwyer's judgment was not about the efficacy of Option 9, but a verdict on the hollowness of our current environmental laws

But there is little cause to bemoan this decision, which was foreordained from at least the moment the original plaintiffs in the case agreed to release 16 timber sales from the Seattle Audubon Society injunction as a gesture of goodwill (a kind of old-growth potlatch) to their friends Babbitt, Gore, and Clinton—and perhaps as early as when some sage hoisted a banner at the Forest Conference in April 1993 declaring, "It's Science ,Not Politics, Stupid!" Of course, it has been about politics all along—a concept never lost on Harry Merlo or Mark Hatfield, which is why *they* rarely lose.

At best, the Dwyer injunctions provided a brief hiatus in the assault on northwest forests, a propitious time-out to pass ancient forest legislation in the Congress. Instead of pressing forward, however, we stopped organizing, told our best activists they were no longer needed, and, like Christers awaiting the Rapture, placed our faith in the *deus ex machina* of the federal judiciary. The once lean and hungry grassroots groups gorged at the foundation trough and developed unhealthy obsessions with true legalisms and scientific trivia that bordered on the fetishistic. When push came to shove, we spent our time fighting to protect The Injunction (a battle that further alienated our cause from the people), instead of the forest. Predictably, we failed at both tasks: there is no ancient forest bill in the Congress and the injunction is gone, gambled away. And we are left with Option 9, which at its core is as bad as anything proffered by Pappy Bush; it insures that old growth will be cut, and spotted owls, murrelets, and salmon will die. How much worse can it get? Wait and see.

In the end, however, Dwyer's judgment was not about the efficacy of Option 9, but a verdict on the hollowness of our current environmental laws, which he determined to be wholly inadequate to protect our public forests, rivers, and wildlife. This is a salient lesson and can't be easily dismissed. If Option 9 is the best we can expect under current laws, then *all* our public lands are in extreme jeopardy—for clones of Option 9 are ready to metastasize throughout the entire national forest system.

This message must be brought before the people, many of whom still labor under the illusion that the Clinton administration is an effective steward of the environment. But the news is not entirely bleak. According to a post-election survey by Peter Hart and Associates, 60 percent of the voters would support strengthening of environmental laws if provided with any reasonable justification.

The question, then, is whether the mainstream greens will finally rise to the challenge or remain on the sidelines reflexively cheerleading for their insensate buddies in the Democratic Party, who continue to whisper that change is impossible.

Strange Justice

If the Dwyer decision isn't evidence enough that we have reached a legal dead end, take a look at the raft of rulings draining out of other federal courts. Let's start with the so-called Sweet Home decision, where the timber industry challenged (in the friendly DC-circuit) the Clinton administration's half-hearted plan for protecting spotted owl habitat on private lands in Oregon and Washington. The plan itself was fundamentally flawed, since it largely exempted from regulation hundreds of thousands of acres of potential owl habitat owned by large log-exporting corporations such as Weyerhaeuser and ITT-Rayonier, while placing unrealistic burdens on small private timber land owners—typical fare for this administration, whose operating motto is "Putting Shareholders First." In other words, the owl (and murrelet) was doomed on private lands under this strategy of corporate appeasement. But, at Assistant Interior Secretary (and former Wilderness Society head) George Frampton's request, environmentalists chose not to challenge the plan, leaving it wide open for furious assault from the industry.

In a ruling that demonstrates the utterly toothless condition of the Endangered Species Act, the court decided that the Fish and Wildlife Service lacks the authority to regulate the modification of *any* owl habitat on private lands. This means that the onus of protecting wildlife now rests entirely on public lands. In the right hands, this could become a powerful argument for ending logging, grazing, and mining in federal

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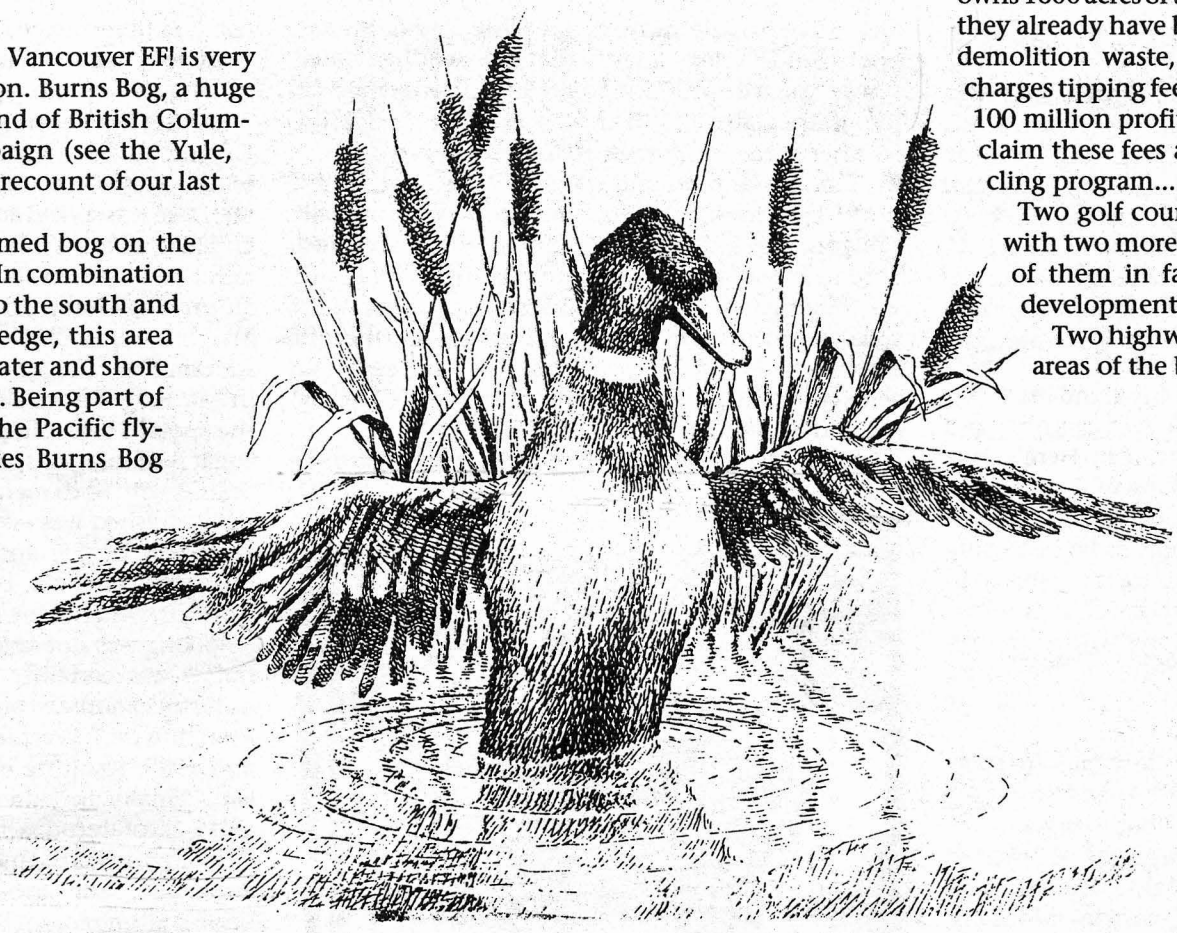
British Columbia Wetlands Imperiled

BY MICHELLE STEWART, AMY NEWTON-MCCANN, AND SLIPPERY J

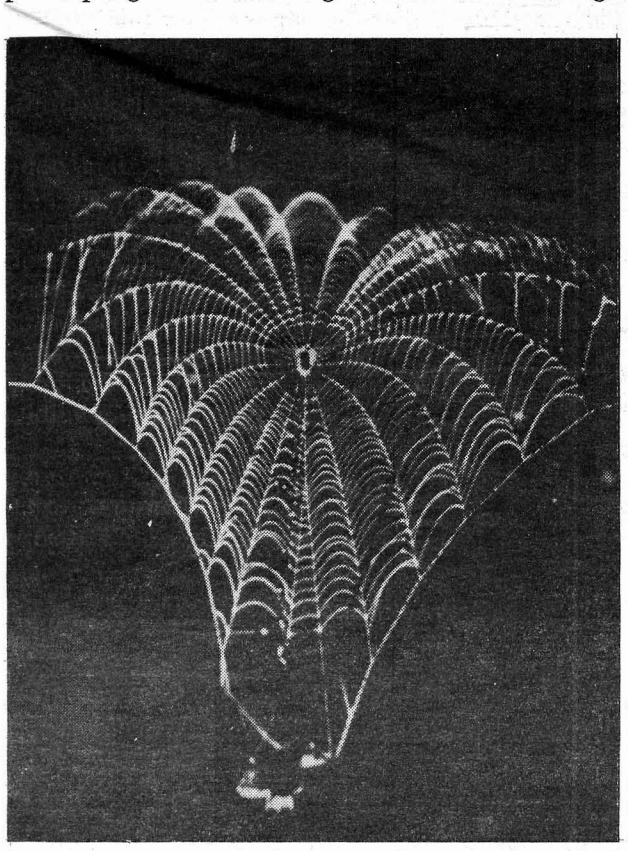
After a period of hibernation, Vancouver EF! is very much alive and ready for action. Burns Bog, a huge wetland on the lower mainland of British Columbia, is the focus of our campaign (see the Yule, 1994, issue of the *Journal* for a recount of our last action).

Burns Bog is the largest domed bog on the Pacific coast of the Americas. In combination with Boundary Bay adjacent to the south and the Fraser River on its north edge, this area hosts the highest density of water and shore birds in Canada during winter. Being part of the Fraser River estuary and the Pacific flyway for migratory birds makes Burns Bog unique and critical habitat.



The foundation for Burns Bog arose 5,000 years ago when sprouting rushes, cattails, and sedges consolidated the silt and sand surface of the ever-expanding Fraser River Delta. Within a thousand years, enough undecayed vegetation (called sedge peat) was in place to allow the growth of trees, shrubs such as sweet gale, hardhack, and later Labrador Tea and blueberries. These in turn firmed new layers (ericacious peat) comprising most of the 16-foot-high inverted organic saucer known as Burns Bog. Very recently the bog was capped with a foot or so thick mixture commercially termed "sphagnum peat," but really comprised of the remains of shrubs, trees, sedges, rushes, lichens, and various mosses including the over-rated Sphagnum. The common term "peat moss" is a misnomer.

Rainwater, the bog's only source of moisture, is held in the dome because of the natural absorbency of the peat. Sphagnum moss can grow into three foot high



mounds by drawing water up from the peat and storing it inside the living plant stem, but, with no real root system, this common but not dominant bog plant has no power to affect the water table.

The conditions created in this raised bog are only ideal for a small number of plant species, most commonly found in boreal North America. Some of these species include: bog rosemary, narrow-leaf sundew, yellow pond lily, cotton grass, haircap moss, cloud berries and liverworts.

Over 145 species of birds are known to use the bog, approximately sixty of which are thought to be permanent residents, with another sixty being seasonal. The remaining twenty-four are transient species that use the bog occasionally. One noted resident is the Greater Sandhill crane, a species found only in two areas in the lower mainland. There are only 600 of these cranes left in BC. The bog also hosts a large population of raptors, such as marsh hawks, great horned owls, peregrine falcons and bald eagles.

The rapid development of the lower mainland has made Burns Bog a haven for many wildlife species. As habitat is swapped for dollars, animals are being pushed further and further from their preferred territory in exchange for survival. This creates urban wildlife areas such as Burns Bog. The bog has many small mammals such as voles and shrews; it also maintains a healthy population of predators which include black bear, bobcat, red fox and coyote.

The entire dome is an old-growth forest except where it has been altered by peat removal, agriculture, development, and waste disposal. The scars from peat removal have mostly healed (a forty year process) to create more diverse habitat than was there before, including ponds and meadows. Drainage seems to have promoted birch forests and taller pine trees at some edges and along several ditches leading into the bog. Although non-native, many agree that the bog edge forests are more essential than the lower treed center for the forest mammals and nesting birds displaced there by development. Besides birch and pine, one can commonly find species of spruce, cedar, hemlock, and alder.

In 1929, part of Burns Bog was purchased by the Western Peat Company to extract peat moss for poultry litter and agriculture, but serious peat removal did not begin until the forties, when peat moss was needed for the refining process of magnesium, used in the popular firebombs of WWII. As agents for the US Defense Plant Corporation, Western Peat built access roads, laid 10 miles of rail, dug drainage ditches, built a processing plant, and extracted blocks of peat.

Since 1966, part of the bog has been used as a landfill. The City of Vancouver owns 1600 acres of the finest land, 700 acres of which they already have buried under a forty-foot layer of demolition waste, garbage and clay. The landfill charges tipping fees that have amounted to an $80-100 million profit in just the past few years! They claim these fees are collected to pay for the recycling program... yeah, right.

Two golf courses have been built on the bog, with two more rejected by the city council, one of them in favor of a high-density housing development.

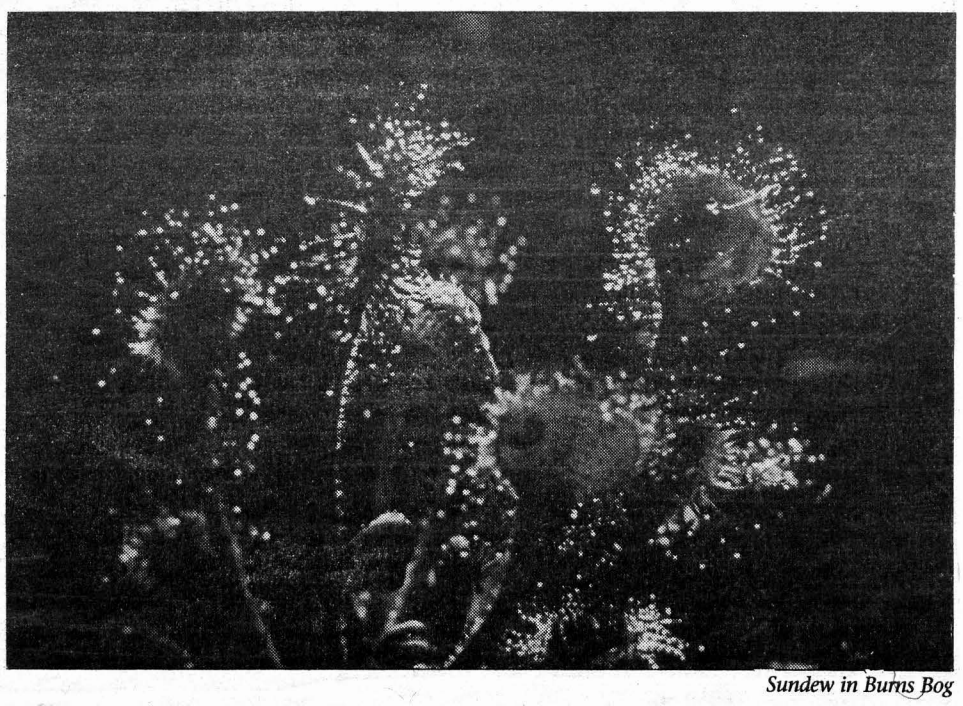
Two highways already run through separate areas of the bog, and a third is on the way to connect to a new bridge. Recent attempts to halt the increased development of bogland for domestic cranberry harvesting were futile. Ocean Spray has won the right to ruin another 80 acres of untouched bog, adjacent to the Dow dump (poetic justice) so it can bring the world the savory flavor of "Cranapple Juice." Needless to say, boycott Ocean Spray.

The Provincial government of BC seems quite generous in handing out permits to dump. The Delta Municipal Council is mostly pro-development and turns a blind eye to most indiscretions. With an acre a day being lost to development, the anticipated decision for Protected Area Status sometime in 1995 seems a long way off.

Burns Bog is by no means pristine, but it is wilderness. It is a unique ecosystem that must be formally protected and allowed to thrive and evolve in its natural state. Several environmental groups in BC, including the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, the Burns Bog Conservation Society, and BC Wild are involved in the provincial Protected Areas Strategy process and have submitted several wilderness proposals to BC Parks, Environment, and Lands. However, these proposals are incomplete—they would protect only relatively undisturbed portions of the bog. They also don't include a very important piece of Burns Bog which connects it to Boundary Bay, thus ignoring the entire wetlands complex.

Vancouver EF! is focusing its attention on the Delta and Vancouver City Councils, pressuring them to enforce their own bylaws and protect the bog. The provincial government also must know that they can no longer override municipal bylaws and use Burns Bog as BC's dumping ground. As usual, direct action will be a strong focal point of this campaign. We need your help. Harass the bastards! Moe Sihota, BC Minister of Environment, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, BC V8V 1X4, Canada.

Also note that we have a new address and phone number: Vancouver EF! PO Box 176, 1472 Commercial Vancouver, BC V5L 3X9, Canada (604) 473-0174. Harass us!



Sundew in Burns Bog

SPIKING: It Just Doesn't Work

BY JUDI BARI

I first wrote this article two years ago, after researching every tree spiking incident I could find out about. Even I was surprised at the results. I thought there would be more success stories. Of course, this kind of research is pretty hard to do, for obvious reasons. I tried my best to fact check and was satisfied that the article was essentially correct, although I'm sure I missed a spiking or two. But if anyone can cite examples to contradict this information, I hope they will do so. Otherwise, here are the results of my research.

Tree spiking is a failed tactic by any standard. It has been practiced by Earth First! for twelve years now, and I think it's fair to say that the results are in. Here's Dave Foreman's description of tree spiking in *Ecodefense:*

"Tree spiking is an extremely effective method of deterring timber sales, which seems to be becoming more and more popular. If enough trees are spiked in roadless areas, eventually the corporate thugs in the timber company boardrooms, along with their corrupt lackeys who wear the uniform of the Forest Service, will realize that timber sales in wild areas are going to be prohibitively expensive."

Believing this seems to be an article of faith for some EF!ers. But the actual history of Earth First! tree spiking shows that it hasn't really worked out that way.

The most intensive spiking campaigns occurred in Oregon and Washington, although there also have been incidents in California, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, New Mexico, Arizona, British Columbia, Illinois, Kentucky, Maine and New Jersey, to name a few. And I'm not going to say that none of them saved any trees, because in a few cases they did, especially early on or in areas without a timber-based economy. But the successes have been few and far between. Even unabashed EF! apologist Chris Manes, in his well-researched book *Green Rage*, could only come up with two timber sales that were canceled because they were spiked—one in the George Washington National Forest in Virginia, and one in the Wanatchee National Forest's (NF) Icicle River drainage in Washington. I don't know about the trees in Virginia, but the Icicle River sale has since been cut.

But there have been scores of spikings, and in the vast majority of cases, the Forest Service or timber company just sent people in with metal detectors, removed the spikes and cut the trees. Sometimes spikes were missed, and sometimes they hit the blades in sawmills. But the timber industry has made it quite clear that they are willing to pay this price.

The first reported tree spiking in EF! history occurred in Oregon's Siskiyou Mountains in 1983 on the Woodrat timber sale on Bureau of Land Management (BLM) land. Notice was given of the spiking, and some of the trees were marked with yellow ribbons to make them easy to find and verify. The BLM reacted by having the loggers cut the trees and leave them on the ground for firewood cutters to saw at their own risk.

In 1985 in southern Oregon, EF! was engaged in a high-profile direct action campaign to save Cathedral Forest in the Middle Santiam Wilderness. Demonstrators blockaded roads, staged the first tree sits ever, and even occupied an area scheduled for blasting with dynamite, some of them actually sitting on the charges. In the midst of these actions, a few EF!ers took it upon themselves to spike some of the trees at Pyramid Creek. And to read about it in Chris Manes' book, I can see where people get the false impression that tree spiking is a drastic but effective last resort. "Despite... continued opposition in the form of civil disobedience," writes Manes, "the road crept inexorably toward the sale. As a last ditch effort, [Mike] Roselle sneaked into the stand one night and spiked it. He sent a letter to the timber company announcing the spiking... and signed it 'the Bonnie Abbzug Feminist Garden Party'—a reference to the voluptuous ecoteur in The Monkeywrench Gang. The authorities caught neither the allusion or the tree spiker."

What Chris Manes doesn't tell us is that spiking the sale didn't work. It caused a spate of negative publicity, and it caused Mary Beth Nearing, one of EF!'s most inspirational organizers, to publicly distance herself and the Cathedral Forest Action Group from the spiking and Earth First! But it didn't save the trees. In fact, Mike Roselle himself, speaking in Rik Scarce's book, *Eco-Warriors*, admits that the spiking "barely slowed them down." The Forest Service sent rangers in to pull the nails, and the trees were cut.

Other areas in Oregon that were spiked and cut include the Hobson and the Deer Creek sales in the north Kalmiopsis, the Top and Skook sales in Hell's Canyon NF, Bull Run in the Mt. Hood area near Portland, and a Boise-Cascade sale in the Wallowa-Whitman NF. At the Boise-Cascade site, some of the spikes were missed by loggers and made it into the mill, breaking teeth off six sawblades. The saw teeth shot across the mill like bullets, injuring no one but terrifying and angering the millworkers.

In fact, the main effect tree spiking seemed to be having in Oregon was pissing people off. In June 1987,

EF! was protesting the Lazy Bluff timber sale in the north Kalmiopsis Roadless Area. Tree sitter Randy Prince was perched 80 feet up in an old-growth fir when a logger cutting in an adjacent area hit an 11-inch spike and damaged his chainsaw. The logger stormed over to Randy's tree, revved up a saw, and, screaming something about tree spiking, began cutting down the tree with Randy in it. He cut out a notch one-third of the way through the tree before he was talked into stopping. Shaken, Randy denounced tree spiking and publicly distanced himself from Earth First! And the Lazy Bluff timber sale was cut.

It was becoming clear that something was going wrong with the spiking strategy. It seemed all this publicity was backfiring, putting the timber industry in a position of having to cut the trees or lose face. So when Holcomb Peak in the Siskiyou Mountains was extensively spiked in June 1987, the spikers tried to correct past mistakes and do it "right." No notification was sent to the press. Instead, the BLM, the logging contractor and the millowner were quietly notified, in order to give them an opportunity to quietly back out and cancel the sale. No luck. Instead, the logging interests called the press and made the incident into a media circus. BLM rangers posed for photos in the woods with tree spikes and the timber industry rallied to raise a $13,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the spikers. And the trees were cut.

The ultimate media manipulation in the tree spike wars, however, came in 1988 when Senator Mark Hatfield and Representive Bob Smith (known to jaded Oregonians as the Representatives from Timber) were on a tour of the Gregory Forest Products sawmill near Glendale, Oregon. In an amazing display of synchronicity, at the very minute when the congressional delegation was watching the operation of a bandsaw, that very bandsaw just happened to hit a spike and explode. The delegation had just been shown spikes found in logs from the Silver Fire in the north Kalmiopsis. No one was hurt by the flying saw blade, but the politicians were predictably impressed.

"Tree spiking is a radical environmentalist's version of razor blades in Halloween candy," Representitive Smith commented.

Meanwhile, some of the Oregon EF! activists were getting tired of answering for this ineffective and marginalizing tactic. "Personally I don't think it works," EF!er Steve Marsden told the Seattle Times in June 1988. Fellow EF!er Bobcat expressed the same frustration, complaining that it forces activists to talk about "tree spiking pro or con instead of old-growth pro or con." But pressure was great within Earth First! to not criticize a tactic that others still engaged in. And spiking was certainly going on outside of Oregon.

Spiking in Washington was just as extensive as in Oregon, and its results no better. Starting with the temporarily successful Icicle River spiking in 1986, sale after sale was spiked and cut, including the Lake Creek and Naches areas of the Wenatchee NF, Greet Mountain and Granite Falls in Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie, and Storm King Mountain and Karamip in the Colville NF. The only spiked sales that I could verify as "still standing" are the Spoon and Olston Corkendale sales in Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie, and they were set aside in the spotted owl ruling, not the spiking. In 1989, the Sugar Bear sale was spiked in the Cedar River area near Seattle, with both metal and ceramic spikes. The cut in the watershed was eventually halved due to a public campaign by EF! and others. The spiked area was included in the cut, but about one-third of the trees were left, which some people attributed to the spiking.

Spiking was not saving many trees in Washington, but it was certainly raising the ire of the timber industry. Bandsaw blades were broken by spikes in four different Washington sawmills between 1987 and 1989, resulting in the standard cries of "terrorism." Finally, in September 1989, the timber industry and corporate press mounted an all-out assault on Washington Earth First! The *Bellingham Herald* printed a four-part series listing acts of sabotage in the area, quotes from *Ecodefense*, and the names, places of employment and photos of key Earth First!ers. No proof was given to show that these public EF!ers were responsible for any of the sabotage listed, but the atmosphere was so hostile that no proof was needed. Some Earth First!ers left town for their own safety.

The classic example of tree spiking, regularly cited by EF!ers as proof that the tactic works, occurred in 1985 on Meare's Island in British Columbia, where the Society for Protection of Intact Kinectic Ecosystems (SPIKE) drove 26,000 helix nails into old-growth cedar trees. What spiking advocates don't tell you is that spiking was only part of a whole campaign to protect Meare's Island. When the Canadian government tried to sell timber rights on the island to MacMillan-Bloedel, a coalition of natives (who never ceded their land or signed any treaties) and non-natives fought back with a lawsuit and a five-month occupation. When MacMillan-Bloedel tried to come in and cut before the court could grant a restraining order, hundreds of people massed on the beach to prevent the helicopters from landing. The court finally halted the logging until the final ruling. That ruling is expected soon, and the Canadian government has stated that they will take the timber, spikes or no spikes, if they win in court.

Closer to home, California has had far fewer spikings than our northern neighbors, many of them occurring in 1987, the same year George Alexander was hurt by the spike at the Cloverdale Louisiana-Pacific (L-P) mill. Just one month after that accident in Sonoma County, Trout Creek was spiked in a last-ditch attempt to save it from being cut by Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E). Friends of Trout Creek had been negotiating for a compromise, but when the spikes were discovered PG&E angrily broke off negotiations. Things looked bad until EF!er Sequoia came up with a plan. She organized a protest in which people were asked to withhold $1 from their PG&E bill and mail in a green card to show public support for saving Trout Creek. PG&E received so many green cards that they backed down and agreed to save the whole grove with no compromise.

There were also a few tree spikings in California's national forests. A minor uproar occurred right after the Trout Creek spiking when it was discovered that a spiked sale in the Mendocino NF had been cut and sent on to the mill, despite the injuries George Alexander sustained one month earlier. A 202-acre sale in Tahoe NF was spiked and cut, as was a 240-acre sale at Running Springs in the San Bernardino NF.

As tree spiking continued across the US, the government increasingly tried to crack down on it. Laws were passed to make spiking a felony in California, Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. In 1989, the

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Spike A Tree For Me

BY MIKE ROSELLE

I just want to let you know that I'd just as soon not write about tree spiking right now. It is not because it's out of style at the moment. It's just that things are going well for me now. I have a job, an apartment, a girlfriend, and I live in a small city in Montana. And I am afraid that if I say the wrong things now I could see it all go down the drain like flat beer after a frat-boy keg party. But silence simply will not do here, and neither will beating around the bush and avoiding a direct answer to the question. This is because I am a tree spiker.

And not just a tree spiker, either. Oil field equipment in the Rockies, a few bulldozers here and there, road culverts, a few dozen billboards in Teton County, Wyoming, even a US Forest Service bunk house have all been targets for my monkeywrench over the last twenty years. Some of these targets were trashed out of anger, some for fun. Others were well-planned acts of ecotage designed to produce results.

But I digress. The subject here is tree spiking, and it happens that it is a subject that I know a little about. After all, I drew the illustrations and helped to write the chapter on spiking in *Ecodefense*. I've also gone on national television and radio, and talked to scores of reporters while promoting this activity. My message about tree spiking has always been consistent. That is, don't talk about it, just do it!

But sadly, tree spiking does not seem to be in vogue anymore. People who once sang songs, laughed about it and held it up as a noble deed have changed their tune lately. They are, I'm afraid, even trying to rewrite the history on this subject to serve their own ends. And since I cannot bear to see this happen, I will tell you my story here, and let you decide.

Our story begins on Bald Mountain in southwest Oregon in 1983, where a rare tract of ancient forest was under assault by the US Forest Service. Yes, haven't you heard, trees were spiked there, bulldozers trashed, and survey stakes removed?

It was a miniature war. People were run over by trucks, buried by bulldozers, and while all of this is no surprise to anyone who has tried to stop a timber sale in a national forest recently, this was all very new to us at the time. I think it was then that many of us began to embrace nonviolence, not because we had become pacifists, but because it was damned hard to find volunteers for this kind of duty. We needed to expand our movement beyond the couple of dozen people with whom we were working.

In 1984, we decided we would try to make protesting the logging of ancient forests less dangerous and more acceptable to the hundreds of activists in the northwest, many of whom at the time were involved with nonviolent protest against pesticide spraying, the building of Trojan nuclear power station, the war in El Salvador and the testing and development of nuclear weapons. We also wanted to attract some of the dyed-in-the-wool conservationists who had had enough and were ready to escalate and employ more confrontational tactics.

This was the purpose of the Cathedral Forest Action Group (CFAG), which took its name and tactics from Australia's Nightcap Action Group, who were nonviolently fighting the logging of Australia's remaining rainforests in New South Wales. We set up shop behind a cedar mill near Corvallis, Oregon and began a campaign to prevent the last intact ancient forest watershed in the Cascades from being butchered by the US Forest Service.

CFAG, (pronounced *sea fag*, thanks to Ric Bailey) was probably the most successful nonviolent campaign to date on the issue of ancient forest logging. However, the campaign's success was not obvious to us at the time with all of our activists in jail or on probation (some having been brutalized by the police and charged with felonies), an injunction in effect against our group, a SLAPP lawsuit pending, and after literally having been read the Riot Act. After two years at the barricades at Pyramid Creek, it seemed to us that we were in the process of getting our butts kicked—on the ground, in the woods, in the courtroom and in the media. And there was no US Calvery to come to our rescue, no throngs of hippies and peaceniks, and only a few conservationists were willing to defend our actions. It seemed like a good time to re-evaluate our strategy.

I sat in the home of some friends on the Columbia River near Portland while we contemplated this situation. This was not a meeting of just EF!ers, but of some serious activists with long and varied backgrounds. We sat silently in a circle and thought deep and hard about what to do next. We decided it was time to escalate. It was time to spike trees in the Middle Santiam River drainage. So we did.

The deed itself was fairly simple. We drove up to a proposed cutting unit in my van on a late summer afternoon. The whole job took about four hours. We let the trail cool off for a month or two and then sent a press release and warning. At first the US Forest Service tried to deny that anything had happened, but eventually the story broke in the Oregon press, complete with a copy of our letter and a picture of a spike. But what happened next exceeded even our wildest expectations.

On Nov. 5, 1985, I was attending the founding conference of the Rainforest Action Network at Fort Cronkite in the Marine Headlands. Sitting next to me was Bruce Rich of the Natural Resources Defense

Council, reading a copy of the *Wall Street Journal*. He handed me the copy and pointed to a headline that read, *"War in the Woods Escalates."* The article was a typical timber industry hatchet job with lots of quotes from a Willamette Industries vice president by the name of John Davis. The thrust of it was that what had been a nonviolent campaign was turning ugly. Bingo! I thought.

About two weeks later, what was virtually the same story appeared in the *New York Times*. The day after that, I got a call from an NBC news producer in New York by the name of Frank Green, to whom I had tried selling the story of our campaign during the previous summer. He couldn't get the network to bite because it was too polemic, too local, etc., etc. So far, very little national news media was interested in the story, and much of the reason was that the Oregon press didn't want to cover it. They thought we were trying to manipulate them. Well, I guess we were, but not very successfully as it turns out. I asked Frank what was on his mind.

"Look," he said. "We in the news media don't like to admit it, but it's true. We often get accused of manufacturing the news, and that can make it hard to break a new story. But hey, if it's in the *New York Times*, it already is news, and we can cover it." And so it happened that a timber-industry hit piece backfired and created the biggest US environmental news event of the 1980's. By 1988, almost every newspaper, magazine, TV show and radio talk show had done a segment on Earth First! and tree spiking, even *Sports Illustrated*. Surprisingly, much of the public reaction was positive, with even some of the heavies in the news media admitting to what David Brower had stated earlier, that Earth First! had given much-needed CPR to the environmental movement.

We decided it was time to escalate. It was time to spike trees in the Middle Santiam River drainage. So we did.

We had succeeded where other groups had failed. We had put the issue of ancient forest logging on the national agenda, and made Earth First! into a household phrase. To be sure, we had been vilified in the process, but looking back, I think that it was a small price to pay.

This whole process was repeated, multiplied by a factor of a hundred, when millworker George Alexander was injured in a Louisiana-Pacific mill in Cloverdale, California in 1989. Only this time, the media interest was truly international, and, as Paul Watson might say, regular people were discussing the issue during hockey matches. One sentiment was very clear throughout the entire episode. People, for the most part, did not like the thought of tree spiking or the image of a bandaged and bloodied millworker sitting next to his new bride in a hospital. But neither did they like the sight of thousand-year-old trees being felled on our public lands. As with media coverage of the Vietnam war, the repetition of graphic images of violence and destruction helped to sway American public opinion against the logging of ancient forests.

So, because of these reasons, I get really irked when people tell me that spiking has harmed the movement. What do they know? I am not trying to denegrate the importance of nonviolent resistance, but I am tired of sanctimonious activists who have tried to portray the spiking campaign as detrimental to their own organizing efforts or as resulting in violence against them personally, because it just ain't so. That's like blaming the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on the actions of the Black Panthers. Even Dr. King knew that the Panthers and hardline leaders such as Malcolm X had an important role to play in the civil rights struggle, even if they weren't pacifists.

But to me, the bottom line is this: We all have a moral responsibility to oppose and resist the power of repressive and destructive institutions, and we also have a responsibility to be as effective as we can. Even Ghandi said it was better to pick up the sword and fight than to run away. While we all have different approaches to this crucial issue, let's not rewrite history to suit our own needs. We have needed tree spikers in the past, and I'm afraid we will need them again. In some places, we may even need them now. It's a tough job, but somebody's gotta do it.

In Defense of Tree Spiking

BY CAPTAIN PAUL WATSON

And at that very moment, we heard a loud whack!
From outside in the fields came a sickening smack
Of an axe on a tree. Then we heard the tree fall.
The very last Truffula Tree of them all!

—Dr. Seuss (The Lorax)

To spike or not to spike. Ah, that is a question indeed. There are some who say "yea" and more that say "nay." Now the will of the majority is not necessarily the right path to follow—after all, the established idea of what constitutes a majority leaves much to be desired. Perhaps the majority of anthropocentric members of our present culture do indeed deplore tree spiking as a tactic. However, if "majority" is defined as all those whose numbers are yet to be born for say, the next millennium, well, then, the present opinions of the majority of the now, suddenly become the minority opinion. And then again, we as one species are clearly a minority as opposed to the majority of species that actually inhabit a forest and really call it home. So, arguments about abandoning tree spiking based on present majority opinion are not relevant to the future or to the rest of the living non-human world.

So far, the war in the woods has been a decidedly one-sided affair. At half-time, the score stands at forests: zero and loggers: about a bazillion. While the debate rages on between the eco-chic and the eco-meek concerning the ethics of tree spiking, the trees continue to fall, the forest ecosystems continue to diminish, hundreds of thousands of unique, never-to-occur-again-ever life-forms continue to swirl into the toilet bowl of extinction while the logging barons pile up reserves of green-dyed dead cellulose tissue.

Tree spiking is simply a damn good tactic. Good tactics are controversial, and more importantly, they work. Tree spiking as a tactic has been successful.

Metallic objects or stones embedded within trees is a fairly common occurrence. The perpetrator of the deed could have ranged from a park ranger nailing up supports for fire station telephone lines to a camper, hunter or fisherman using nails to hang game, support a hammock or tent or to hang a frying pan. Tree spiking merely increases the frequency of occurrences that have plagued the forest industry for the last century. And because these occurrences have been common, stringent regulations have been in place for decades designed to protect sawmill workers from metallic objects embedded in logs.

On May 22, 1987, a petition was submitted to the Occupational Safety and Health Standards Board in California. The petition proposed that the Board amend the Logging and Sawmill Safety Orders regarding the spiking of trees. Senator Barry Keene, in a letter dated May 28, 1987, requested that the Standards Board consider further regulations to protect workers from injuries by spiked logs.

The Division of Occupational Safety and Health concluded that "stringent compliance with existing safety orders could eliminate the hazard to sawmill employees created by spiking."

However, an amendment was adopted which called for logs to be examined for embedded metal, rock and/or glass and for such foreign objects to be extracted before processing. This amendment made the environment safer for the workers and at the same time greatly increased overhead operating costs for the logging companies.

In July, 1983, I organized a small crew called the North Vancouver Garden and Arbor Club. We spiked some 2,000 trees on the south slope of Grouse Mountain which resulted in the sawmills canceling their purchase of the timber before the trees were cut.

We did not spike those trees without first researching the tactic thoroughly.

Before the action I had consulted a friend who was an arborist. I asked him for pointers on how to spike the tree without causing it any harm. He provided me with the advice that I needed. Tree spiking is not harmful to a tree, and hundreds of spikes can be hammered home without causing any adverse stress or harm to the tree. According to my arborist friend, tree spiking was akin to inoculating a tree against a disease called greed, a worldwide plague being spread by what the Kayiapo of Amazonia call the termite people, or the people who gobble up the forests.

I then made inquiries of the logging industry while pretending to be an insurance investigator. I asked if there were safety mechanisms on a chain saw that would prevent the chain from breaking and striking the operator. I was assured by the industry that such an accident could not happen, for all chain saws used had chain guards to prevent a broken chain from whipping back into the face of a logger. I followed up on this information by deliberately taking a chainsaw to a spiked log. I struck the spike from different angles a total of ten times. The chain never broke, although the teeth were sheared and the chainsaw seized each time.

The real target is the down time in a sawmill for repairing the damage—this can range between $2,000 and $50,000 per day...

I then approached the sawmills, again posing as an insurance representative. I asked, "Is it possible for an operator or an off-bearer to be injured if a sawmill should strike a metallic object embedded in a log?" The answer from industry spokespeople was a definite "No." The companies I questioned were Macmillan-Bloedel, Crown Zellerbach and Weldwood Lumber.

Therefore I concluded that tree spiking was a perfect tactic. It would not hurt the tree. It would not injure the loggers or sawmill workers. It was simple and easy to do. Materials were easy to obtain and untraceable. It was not illegal. It could not even be defined as damaging property, since trees—being living beings—are not and never will be human property. The concept of trees as property is a clear statement of anthropocentric thought.

The beauty of tree spiking as a tactic is that maximum economic damage can be inflicted for minimal expense. The target is not the individual chainsaws or the saw blades. The real target is the down time in a sawmill for repairing the damage—this can range between $2,000 and $50,000 per day, depending on the size of the mill. Trees destined for pulp when spiked with plastic and Styrofoam can cause great economic damage in the pulping machinery as the "soft spikes" melt and gum up the works. The reaction of being forced by regulation to locate and remove the spikes also increases overhead operating costs. A Proton Recession Magnetometer metal detector used by the forest industry costs about $20,000 per unit. These are for use in the field. In the sawmill, an ionometer unit costs between $200,000 and $300,000.

This, after all, is what the logging industry understands best—the maximization of profit and the minimization of loss. It is the tree spiker's objective to maximize costs and to minimize profits.

Has anybody been injured? In one case only and that was the unfortunate accident that befell George Alexander in 1987. Who was responsible?

I talked with Mr. Alexander and he told me that he had warned Louisiana-Pacific that the band saw he was working on was unsafe. He was told to work with the saw or be fired. The saw was defective and L-P had failed to adhere to regulated safety standards. Besides that, there was no evidence produced that the "spike" in question was deliberately placed by a forest protector. In fact, the trees were not from a primary growth area and the nail was probably just that—a nail.

But thanks to excellent public relations advice, L-P was able to turn a negligent failure to uphold safety standards into a public relations coup against the environmental movement. And the environmental movement, composed for the most part of liberals, anthropocentrics and what Crazy Horse once called "loaf-about-the-forts," capitulated and began to apologize profusely for something they were not responsible for. Forgotten was the wholesale destruction of the forests, the rape of ecosystems and the slaughter of animals and plants. One large forest protection group even offered a $100,000 reward for the capture of any tree spiker, thereby increasing the paranoia in an already excessively paranoid movement.

Many of these same environmentalists have ignorantly proclaimed that tree spiking has never saved a tree. It is convenient for them to spread these lies, otherwise they would be forced to admit that the tactic works. However, for those who spout such rhetoric, a partial list of examples, beginning with the aforementioned slopes of Grouse Mountain, would also include Meares Island and hundreds of other locations worldwide. In addition, the tactic has tallied millions in direct economic damage.

Mike Sullivan of the Northwest Forestry Association in Portland, Oregon, said not all spikings have been publicly disclosed but described them as "a very significant problem" in that region.

John McCormick, a criminal investigator for the regional forest service office in Portland, said that the agency has been inundated with tree spiking reports in Washington and Oregon, but would not comment on an exact count of the number of incidents.

If spiking was not an effective tactic then it would not be so vigorously opposed. And not only is it effective, it is practically impossible to get caught if proper security measures are taken.

Some environmentalists argue that the logging industry will cut the trees out of spite and will let them rot. This is, of course, illegal, but in my opinion, such an action should be followed by a direct spiking attack on log booms and yard logs that are ready for processing. These are what I call zombie logs. Although dead, they can still strike back.

Tree spiking is here to stay. At present, spikes are being delivered into forests worldwide. The nay-sayers can condemn the tactic all they like but they will never be able to stop it. As long as the logging companies wage war on the trees, the tree protectors will retaliate with the most effective tactics available, and tree spiking is the most effective tactic that I have seen yet.

Photo by G.M.

North Vancouver Garden and Arbor Club, July 83'.

Tree spikers are just doing what many Earth First!ers preach but few practice and that is *no compromise in defense of Mother Earth.* Hell, they are not even doing something everybody else doesn't do. The only difference is that tree spikers hammer nails into two-by-fours before they are condemned to becoming two-by-fours.

Another argument used against tree spiking is that it will alienate the workers. The workers are already alienated. The loggers are not the friends of the trees. Loggers log for money. De-foresting Companies exploit loggers because the loggers choose to be exploited. Why is it that the rights of loggers take precedence over the rights of those who do not want the trees to be cut down? As a forest conservationist, I have rights also and my rights are being violated by those who accuse me of violating their right to violate my rights. If some ecologists want to get into bed with the loggers, that's their business, personally I don't

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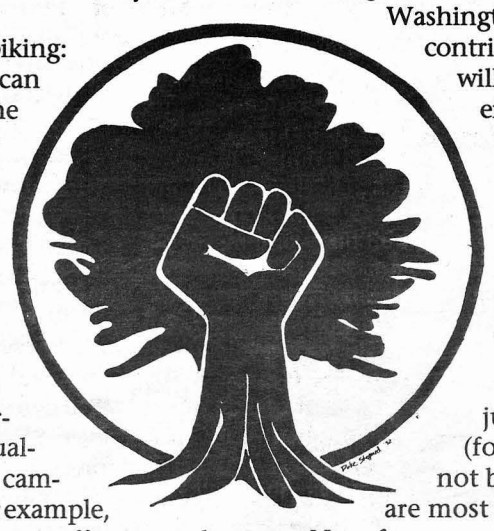
To Spike or Not to Spike?
That is *Not* the Question

BY PILEATED WOODPECKER

Debates on spiking can go in circles until we're all dizzy, but a few points have crystallized in my mind after all these years.

A few arguments in defense of spiking: It is strategic in that the ecoteur can pick her/his target sales, assess the risks, operate during the most advantageous conditions for concealment, delay and be careful about press/labor notification, etc.



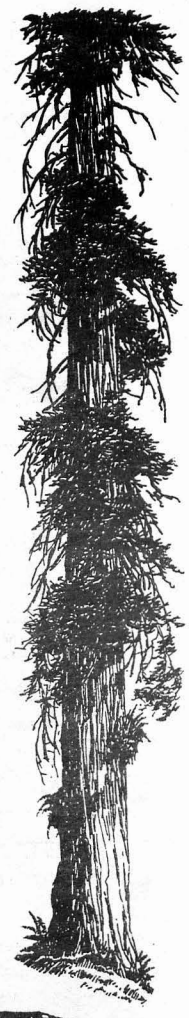
Yet of course it is only one *tactic* in our toolbox—no more and no less. This means that it should not be evaluated for success or failure on its individual merits without consideration of the quality or absence of an associated campaign to stop the sales targeted. For example, civil disobedience would look pretty ineffective and pointless if people evaluated its success or failure out of context, without consideration for its multiple roles of informing the public, arousing passion for the issue, solidifying unity and commitment among activists and working *in concert with* other tactics to achieve desired long-term and short-term goals. There are timber sales that were spiked which were stopped—including Pratt River and the Cedar River sales in Washington state. How much each tactic contributed to these sales' cancellation will never be known, but the most effective campaigns seem to employ a full range of tactics.

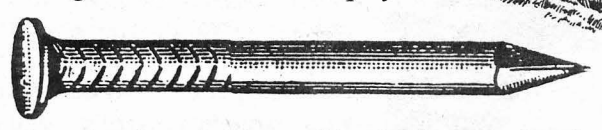
Furthermore, it seems obvious that no one has ever been seriously injured in an Earth First! spiking; if someone had been seriously injured, it would have been broadcast widely over the press, as can be seen by the Cloverdale mill injury from a non-EF! longbutting (for which even the millworker did not blame us). It is the ecoteurs who are most at risk.

Now for my main point: Why debate spiking? Spiking is decreasing in frequency and/or notoriety in the mainstream press. Further, no one is ever going to convince everyone to stop spiking trees if they are so moved by the failure of other tactics or by belief in the advantages of spiking for stopping logging. Do we really want to quell anyone's passion for the earth and determination to defend her?

Who is so omniscient as to know what works best in these crazy times and to tell others what to do or what not to do, especially when the action does not include violence against any life? (All indications are that the trees, the loggers and the mill workers survive spiking much better than "cut and run" over-logging.)

So let's turn to more productive discussion of what really requires our attention: how to unravel the intricate (yet fragile!) web of multinational corporate dominance and dismantle US cultural addiction to pacifying (passive-frying) technology. Let's end the miring of our movement in the quicksand of old, tired topics. And let's stop butting our heads against the red capes of agency shields and step behind the "scenes" to attack the matador—the root causes that have the potential to unify the various struggles for ecological balance and social equity.





IT JUST DOESN'T WORK...

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federal government passed its own laws, which brought the FBI into the picture. When the Post Office timber sale in Idaho's Clearwater National Forest was spiked, the FBI responded by rounding up University of Montana professor Ron Erikson and several of his Earth First! students. They were forced to give hair samples and fingerprints, write "Stumps Suck" 25 times, and submit to a federal grand jury investigation. The feds found no evidence to link them to the spiking, and brought no charges. But this intimidation was clearly designed to try to separate Missoula EF! from its support in academia. Years later John Blount, a man who was known to some of the EF!ers in the area but was peripheral to the EF! group, was arrested for spiking the Post Office sale. He was tried, convicted, and was recently released after serving a short term in federal prison. And the trees were cut.

With this kind of history, you have to wonder why some EF!ers cling so tenaciously to the myth that spiking works. One explanation commonly given is that, regardless of whether it saves individual trees, spiking is an economic constraint on the industry. "The idea could have come straight from the Chicago Business School," says Chris Manes in *Green Rage*. "If the cost of removing spikes is high enough, the cut will not be made, or at least the decreased profit margin will discourage logging in (controversial) areas."

With this logic, Chris Manes would have flunked Econ. 101. One flaw in his theory is that tree spiking was designed for federal lands, where most of the remaining old growth in the US is located. In these cases it is the Forest Service, not the timber company, who bears the cost, both of removing the spikes and of charging lower rates for the timber to make up for the risk of broken saws. The Forest Service is not required to make a profit, since it is financed by taxes, and one of the scandals of looting our national forests is that the Forest Service subsidizes big timber by paying for log road construction and selling timber below cost. Between 1982 and 1987, the Forest Service received $800 million each year in federal timber sales, but spent $1.2 billion per year making the timber ready for sale. That's a loss of $400 million annually. There aren't enough tree spikes in the world to make a dent in this agency.

And even in the case of tree spiking on private lands, Manes' economic theory assumes that the price of lumber is fixed, so that any increase in production costs will result in a decrease in profits. But old-growth timber is so valuable, and there is so little of it left, that the timber industry could charge anything they want. Any increase in production costs due to tree spiking would simply be passed on to the consumers.

Nor are the timber companies put off by the threat of injury to their employees, as we have already seen in real life. Dave Foreman tells us in *Ecodefense* that tree spiking is "unlikely to cause anyone physical injury even should a blade shatter upon striking a spike, which is an unlikely event." But Foreman also admitted to the Christian Science Monitor in 1987 that he had never seen the inside of a sawmill. And it is clear that he doesn't understand the depths of depravity of the timber companies. Logging is the most dangerous occupation in the US, with injury and death rates higher than those of underground coal mining. The routine maiming and killing of timber workers is coldly calculated into the cost of the lumber, and a few more injuries are not going to stop them. L-P made this clear after George Alexander was hurt by that famous Cloverdale tree spike. "L-P will not let tree spiking be a deterrent," said spokeswoman Glennis Simmons. And she meant it. L-P kept running the logs from that same spiked sale through the mill, even though they encountered two more spikes and broke another saw blade. Other timber companies were just as emphatic. After the Buse Company in Everett, Washington broke four sawblades on tree spikes in 1987, manager Ron Smith commented, "I assume they think if they do things like this the timber industry will get discouraged and will just quit cutting trees. But I don't think that's going to happen."

And it hasn't happened. Yet just because Dave Foreman told us 10 years ago that it would, most of EF! continues to ignore reality, no matter how much experience we have. The forests that EF! had been instrumental in saving in this area (Cahto Wilderness, Trout Creek, Headwaters Forest, Albion and Owl Creek) all have been saved through blockades and public-organizing campaigns, often combined with lawsuits. And it's time we faced the truth about tree spiking. It is unquestionably dangerous to workers. It needlessly endangers EF! activists on the front lines. And it doesn't save trees.

Ironically, most of the early advocates of tree spiking—including Dave Foreman—have left EF! for safer harbors after suppressing debate by treating any questioning of their tactics as heresy. And, although most of them have refused to make any public statements about it, the EF! groups that most strongly advocated tree spiking in the early days have quietly abandoned the tactic. Yet the myth lives on.

Recently, a letter was sent to the local press stating that the trees at Mt. Blue had been spiked by EF! I don't know if the letter was real or fake, but a group of EF!ers blockading Mt. Blue were subsequently arrested, dragged through hot coals from their campfire, and roughed up in jail. I have to wonder if a new generation of activists are going to repeat the mistakes of the last ten years. Those of us who are out on the front lines putting our bodies in front of the bulldozers and chainsaws can't afford to be isolated and discredited by something as ineffective and incendiary as tree spiking. If we are serious about putting the Earth first, we need to choose tactics because they work, not because they are macho or romantic. That's what no compromise really means.

IN DEFENSE...

Continued from previous page

find them that attractive. Paul Bunyan is a war criminal in my book.

In fact, it is the absolute hypocrisy of opinion that continually astounds me. I once did a talk show that had a bomb threat phoned in to protest my violence. I have had my life threatened by loggers for advocating tree spiking, and I have had members of the "nonviolent" Friends of Clayoquot Sound threaten to kick my head in for advocating tree spiking. In other words, violence is justified even by the supposedly nonviolent if you are a threat to profits, jobs, property or ideology. However, those who are a threat to the natural world should be dealt with in an exclusively pacifist fashion. Pardon me, but human pacifism does not mean squat to a tree, especially if the tree is about to make violent contact with the ground.

The late, great Edward Abbey said, "No good American should ever go into the woods again without...a hammer and a few pounds of 60 penny nails."

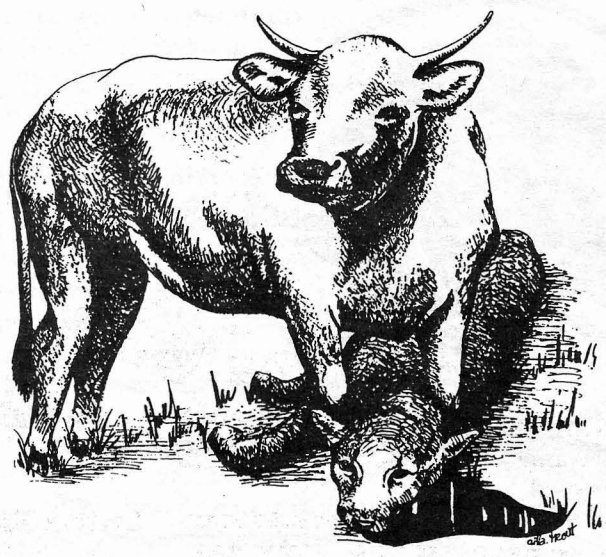
In summation, tree spiking really does not need defending. The trees need defending. Those who deplore the tree spikers really need a primer on enemy identification. The real enemy is the man with the axe. The monkeywrencher with the hammer is a friend of the forests and will be appreciated as such by future generations.

Grazing in the Cleveland NF

BY DAVE HOGAN

In a move that serves as a sign of times to come for all southwestern national forests, the Cleveland National Forest of Orange and San Diego counties in southern California has agreed to complete a biological assessment of its livestock grazing program's impacts on threatened and endangered species.

The agreement came in response to the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity's submission of three Endangered Species Act (ESA) species-listing petitions since 1991, and the Southwest Center's October 1994 notice of intent to sue over Cleveland National Forest ESA violations. By agreeing to conduct this analysis, Forest Supervisor Anne Fege has set an incredible precedent. Despite the fact that livestock grazing is *the* most destructive land use in the arid lands of western north America, this type of forest-wide cumulative effects study on the impacts of grazing has never been conducted on any southwestern National Forest.



Efforts to get cows out of the meadow, forest, and riparian habitats of the Cleveland began in 1990 when the Southwest Center petitioned the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) to list the Laguna Mountains aster as endangered. The decline of this huge purple flower is easily attributable to the fact that cows munch the whole plant before it sets seed. Petitions for the listing of the Laguna Mountain skipper butterfly and southwestern willow flycatcher soon followed. Impacts of grazing to the skipper butterfly and flycatcher are also well documented. In the case of the skipper, cows trample larval habitat and eat flower heads which would otherwise provide nectar to the zebra-striped insect on the wing. Willow flycatchers are dependent on dense riparian habitat with old-growth cottonwood overstory. Cows eat and trample understory riparian vegetation, and unnatural flooding from grazed uplands washes out the bigger trees. The FWS rejected the aster petition on the grounds that it had already been the subject of a petition in 1975. However, the flycatcher and butterfly have both been proposed for endangered listing.

In late October, 1994, the Southwest Center submitted its intent to sue over the Cleveland's failure to initiate formal consultation with the FWS regarding continuing impacts to the Laguna Mountain skipper. Under the Endangered Species Act, federal agencies must consult with the FWS when it is determined that agency actions may be jeopardizing the continued existence of a proposed species. In surveys conducted during the spring and summer of 1994, only one tiny population of the skipper butterfly with less than fifty individuals was relocated. In response to both the petitions and the threat of legal actions, the Cleveland agreed to the forest-wide grazing analysis.

While the Cleveland's willingness to conduct a grazing analysis should on one hand be applauded, it must also be closely scrutinized. Only proposed and listed species are to be included in the assessment. This violates Forest Service mandates to consider the impacts of Forest activities on all FWS listed, proposed, and candidate species, and Forest Service sensitive species. The Cleveland's assessment is also likely to conclude that livestock grazing isn't jeopardizing the continued existence of any sensitive species anywhere on the forest. Climate change or recreation impacts will likely be cited as the causative factors of montane ecosystem collapse.

The Southwest Center's focus on imperiled plants and animals in the Cleveland National Forest is a part of an action campaign bringing increased attention to the outrageous environmental impacts of National Forest livestock grazing and declining ecosystems and species throughout southwestern North America. For further information, please contact the Southwest for Biological Diversity at PO Box 742, Silver City, NM 88062.

Don't Mess Up Texas

Last summer, wildlife activists and public health officials were outraged to learn that the Texas Department of Agriculture (TDA) had applied to the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for an "emergency exemption" to use deadly Compound 1080 poison to kill wildlife in Texas. They immediately launched a grassroots campaign to alert the public and persuade EPA to turn down the poisoning plan. Recently the EPA announced it would deny TDA's request.

"The Texas poisoning plan was a threat not just to Texas, but to the entire West," said Pat Wolff of New West Research, an organizer of the anti-poisoning campaign. "Lifting the ban on this dangerous substance would have been disastrous for wildlife and humans alike."

TDA requested that EPA lift the ban on Compound 1080 on behalf of a small group of Texas ranchers who contended that poisoning wildlife with Compound 1080 would help control rabies. But EPA found no scientific evidence in support of that idea. Opposition to the poisoning plan came from numerous public health agencies, including the New Mexico Environment Department's Rabies Control office.

"There is no scientific or public health basis for a widespread, indiscriminate campaign against predators to protect the public against rabies," the Environment Department's letter to EPA said.

Compound 1080 was developed in Nazi Germany as a chemical warfare agent and has been used as to exterminate rodents and predators by the livestock industry. It is so toxic that a teaspoonful in powder form can kill up to 100 adults. In 1972, President Nixon banned Compound 1080 because of wide spread misuse, the poisoning deaths of many humans, and the indiscriminate poisoning of millions of birds and mammals.

Leaders of the campaign against Compound 1080 include New West Research of Santa Fe, NM, the Texas Sierra Club, Wildlife Rescue of San Antonio, TX and Wildlife Damage Review of Tucson, AZ.

USFS Backs Down on Road Closure

In early January, Virginia forest activists were alerted that Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area Ranger Steve Sherwood had held a private meeting with four-wheel-drive advocates and had opened a gated Forest Service road halfway up Whitetop Mountain, reneging on two 1993 decision notices signed which required the road to be closed every winter.

Whitetop Mountain, in Virginia's Jefferson National Forest, has been an issue of contention for several years. Many consider the mountain, which is home to 40 federally listed species, a leading contender for wilderness designation.

It is unclear who was behind the move to illegally open the Whitetop Road, but some activists speculated that the area ranger was ordered by a superior. Nevertheless, the Forest Service has seen the error of its ways (albeit temporarily): the road is gated and the Forest Service is hurriedly preparing to issue another decision notice addressing winter closure of Whitetop Road only.

Until this winter, the Forest Service has permitted unrestricted vehicular use of the Whitetop Road, but activists advocate obliterating the road and managing Whitetop as one of a series of regional core roadless areas. In support of their plan, they cite the effects of trash dumping, off-road use, soil compaction, disturbance of plants, exacerbation of freeze-thaw road problems and disturbance to hikers caused by the road.

The Forest Service has countered by proposing parking lots, interpretive trails, and an observation deck on the mountain. They've made bonehead statements like: "Whitetop Mountain is the only area... in the Jefferson where the public can drive to the summit of a 5,000-foot mountain and experience the Virginia High Country in one panoramic view without ever leaving their vehicle. This makes Whitetop Mountain a truly unique feature."

The Forest Service is asking for public comment until February 17 on the Whitetop Road closure schedule. Virginians for Wilderness and PAW (southeast Virginia) encourage phone calls to stop the year-round trashing of the mountain. Call Lew Purcell at the Mt. Rogers NRA: (703) 783-5195. Also, ask to get on the Whitetop Road scoping list.

—WAKE ROBIN

Polar Bear Protection in the US

The coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is our nation's most important polar bear habitat. Every fall the southernmost shores of the Arctic Ocean freeze, and scores of polar bears journey to Alaska's coastal plain from various parts of the region. By writing to Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, you can help protect vital polar bear habitat from potential oil and gas development and try to insure that such activities never occur within the Arctic Refuge.

Polar Bear Habitat at Risk

After giving birth to cubs on the coastal plain, the family unit must remain in its den until March. It is during this time that polar bears are most susceptible to disturbances known to cause female bears to abandon their dens, which is fatal to cubs too young to survive outside.

Oil exploration and production along the northern Alaska coast threatens to disrupt the bear's breeding pattern. Disturbances to polar bears include road construction, traffic, helicopters, ships, seismic surveys, drilling, and oil transportation, all of which are associated with oil production.

The level of oil and gas extraction in the US Arctic is likely to increase as oil exploration continues and more state and federal lands and waters are leased. While current activities undoubtedly cause some den disruption, the risk to polar bears and their habitat will increase should oil companies make a large find. Because polar bears live in relatively small populations and have low reproductive rates, they are susceptible to population crashes. While Alaska's population of 3,000 to 5,000 polar bears is stable, decreases in cub survival or increases in female mortality would be devastating.

Polar Bear Protection

On paper, international law and United States policy provide means of safeguarding essential polar bear habitat from oil development. The Agreement on the Conservation of Polar Bears is an international treaty between the US, Canada, Russia, Denmark, Norway, and was ratified by the United States Senate in 1976. The treaty contains some of the strongest habitat protection duties in international wildlife law. Each signatory nation is required to protect polar bear ecosystems, paying particular attention to denning, feeding and migration areas.

To better protect polar bear habitat and fulfill the polar bear Agreement, the FWS announced in November 1993 that it would develop a Polar Bear Habitat Conservation Strategy. According to FWS, the goal of this strategy is to conserve and protect polar bear habitat in Alaska in perpetuity. They say the strategy considers setting up "special protective areas" for polar bears and intends to provide the basis for the United States to secure an enhanced level of polar bear habitat protection by other Arctic nations.

How You Can Help

Please write to Interior Secretary Babbitt and FWS Director Mollie Beattie. Thank them for developing the polar bear Habitat Conservation Strategy but urge them to make sure that the strategy results in genuine habitat protection. Tell them that the strategy should include polar bear reserves where oil and gas activities are prohibited.

Letters Should Be Sent To:

The Honorable Bruce Babbitt, Secretary Department of the Interior, 1849 C St NW, Washington, DC 20240; Mollie Beattie, Director US Fish and Wildlife Service, 1849 C St NW, Room 3256, Washington, DC 20240.

Please send a copy of your letter to Linda Winter at Defenders of Wildlife, 1101 14th St, Suite 1400, Washington, DC 20005. We will assure that your letter is formally submitted for the record when FWS begins its formal public comment period on the Polar Bear Habitat Conservation Strategy. For more information call (202) 682-9400 X263.

Measure 18 Faces Repeal

Oregon Republican Bill Markham has announced his intention to introduce legislation to repeal Measure 18 which bans hunting bears and mountain lions with hounds or bait. The measure passed in Oregon's November 1994 election by over 44,000 votes.

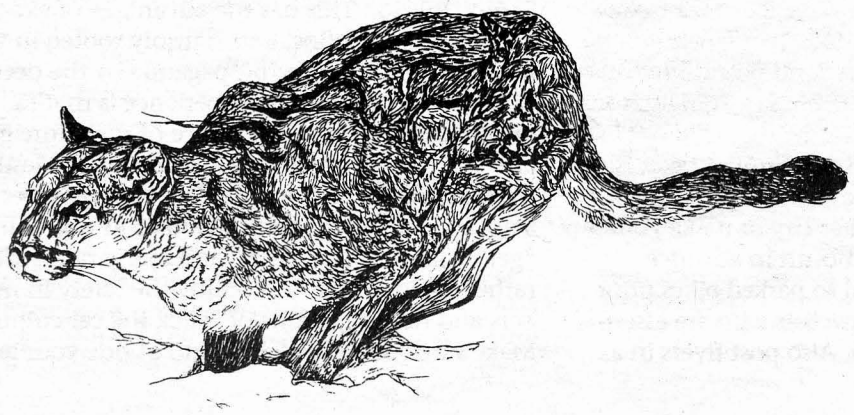
Markham, a consistently strong voice against ecosystem protection and wildlife, has vowed to continue Oregon's century-old tradition of predator slaughter, which completely decimated the states grizzly bears and wolves. A century of bounty hunting, trophy hunting and lethal Damage Control has seriously weakened Oregon's ecosystems. Both black bear and mountain lion were in danger of extirpation when the government eradication programs were suspended 30 years ago. Conservationists would like to see these species repopulate their native habitat.

Bears and lions are still threatened due to exploitation for body parts used in traditional Asian medicines. Both species are suffering from unprecedented habitat loss and "damage control" as demanded by timber operators and ranchers. Wildlife proponents in Oregon introduced Measure 18 to protect these last two wild predators.

Markham and his henchmen claim that hound-hunting and baiting are needed by the Fish and Wildlife Service as management tools, but in actuality, these banned trophy hunting techniques, aside from being extremely cruel and abusive, increase the likelihood of conflicts with people. Mountain lion expert Paul Beier, of Northern Arizona State University, points out that trophy hunting for lions causes human conflict and damage by changing the age structure of the lion population. Noted bear biologist Charles Jonkel opposes bear baiting because it teaches them to seek out human food sources.

What you can do: Call or write Oregon legislators now and ask them to oppose any repeal of Measure 18. Contact Oregon's Governor John Kitzhaber and ask that he veto any such legislation. All legislators can be contacted: The Honorable_____, State Capitol, Salem OR 97310, switchboard (503) 986-1180. Write or call Governor John Kitzhaber, State Capitol, Salem OR 97310, (503) 378-3111.

—Biodiversity Crisis Intervention



BC Natives Fight Corporate Logging

The Nuxalk Nation, located in the central mid-coast of British Columbia, Canada, are fighting for survival. Although the Nuxalk people depend on their forests for salmon, clean streams, food and medicine, multinational corporations are devastating the land by clearcutting in the name of progress and corporate returns.

These companies operate with impunity because the area's remoteness hides them from public scrutiny. Generally, little is known about what goes on there. A campaign to develop greater awareness of the area is underway, but in the meantime the corporations are scheming to decimate the forests.

One of the primary culprits in this destruction is International Forest Products (Interfor), which is aggressively logging the south and east portions of Nuxalk territory. Interfor plans to log in Hot Springs Creek Valley, a rare, pristine coastal drainage resplendent with large old cedars. If cut, some of the raw logs will undoubtedly be exported.

Brian Simpson of BC Ministry of Forest and Interfor's Hans Granander oversee the corporation's operation in this area. Simpson claimed a decision will be made about logging on Hot Springs Creek pending the results of a 1-2 years study. The immediate surrounding area of the hotsprings has been proposed for protection under the BC Protected Areas Strategy. Nonetheless, Interfor has been flagging roads in the Hot Springs Creek Valley area already.

I.R. Wilson Consultants have performed a few archeological studies within the Nuxalk Territory for logging development. These "professional" reports were poorly completed and presented, yet they were approved by Interfor and the Ministry of Forests.

Help us illuminate the destruction of the Nuxalk Territory. Please call or write Simpson and Granander and let them know that, though they may be out of sight, they are certainly not out of mind, and that people from all over care about the area and the traditional people who live there. Please call them and ask them to stop violating Nuxalk forests. If you don't find them in the office, please call them at home. They absolutely need to hear from us.

Hans Granander, International Forest Products, Bella Coola Division, Mid-Coast Operation, Box 50, Hagensborg, BC V0T 1HO, Canada; (604) 982-2323, home (604) 982-2515.

Brian Simpson, BC Ministry of Forests, Mid-Coast District, Box 190, Hagensborg, BC V0T 1H0, Canada; (604) 982-2000, home (604) 982-2686.

—Native Forest Network

Urban Mayhem

BY JASON HALBERT

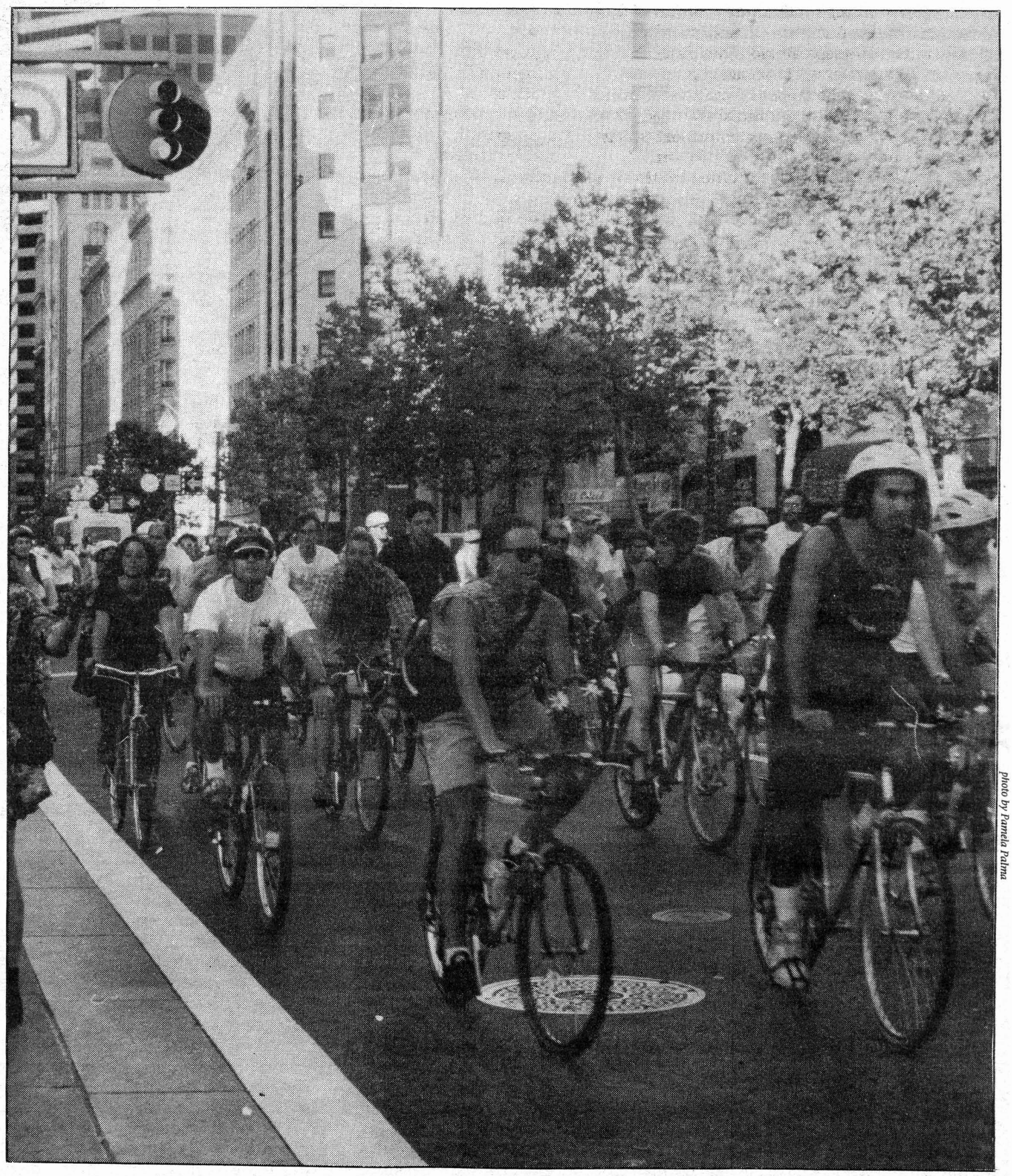


photo by Pamela Palma

San Francisco's Critcal Mass ride along Market Street. The SF ride is the largest in the nation, attracting up to 3,000 participants.

"We're not blocking traffic, WE ARE TRAFFIC!" screams an angry yet elated Critical Mass cyclist to a Beamer-driving yuppie rushing to the "safety" of the suburbs.

Urban bicyclists face a daily barrage of insults, potholes created by cars, buses and trucks, glass, roadkill (everywhere!), assholes, and the knowledge that every breath contains carcinogens. Still, every driver knows that hitting a bicyclist would be a severe financial blow, and therein lies the power of Critical Mass—today's urban protest of choice. Stopping cars by putting your body in their path and building solidarity among bicyclists creates spontaneous, nonviolent, car-free celebrations.

The term Critical Mass refers to the minimum number of cyclists, skaters, walkers etc. required to safely move through the streets. In Beijing, it is a part of everyday life for cyclists to stop and wait at an intersection until enough other riders have amassed to stop the flow of fossil-beast traffic, thus making it safe to move through the intersection. Yet Americans drive the distance to the planet Pluto every day, with most automobile trips ranging within five miles of one's home.

Thus the car culture clearly dominates all aspects of American living. Like any minority, bicyclists face constant abuses and prejudice from the dominant culture. To most Americans, the bicycle is a recreational toy like a tennis racket or a Frisbee. To the Chinese, many Europeans, and most of the impoverished world, it is a cheap and reliable form of transportation. The bicycle is the most efficient means of transportation on Earth, requiring fewer calories per kilometer than even walking. Yet Americans continue their obsessive-compulsive behavior toward cars and trucks—anything that spews exhaust and requires huge subsidies.

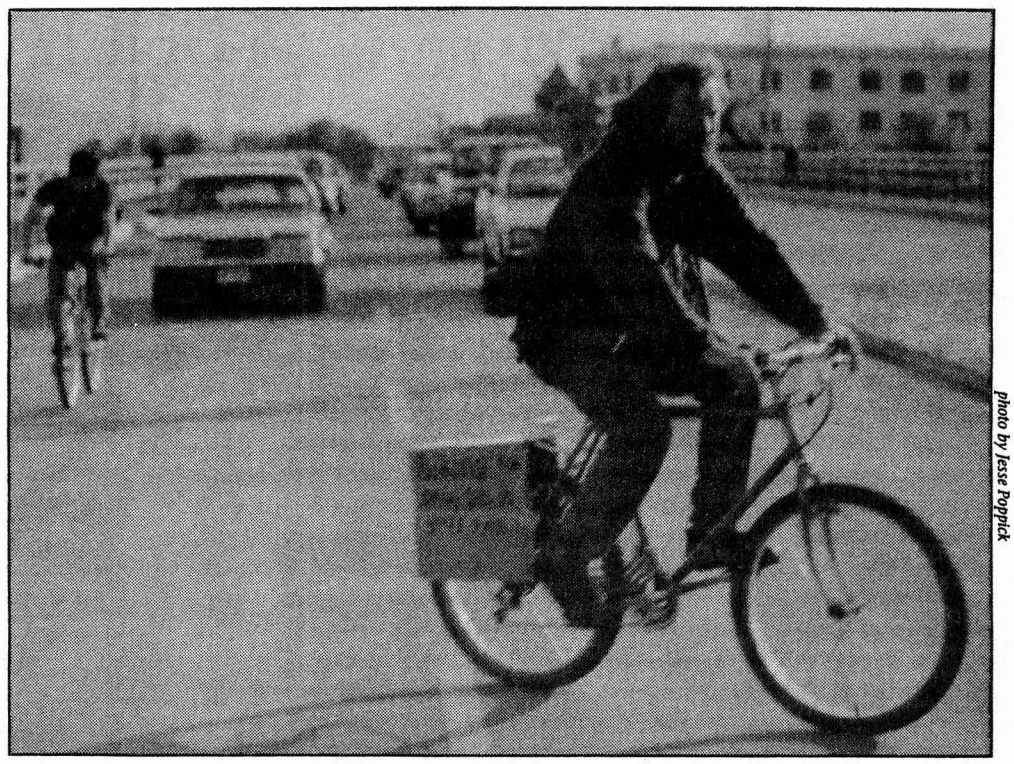
Here, I do not propose a continuance of industrial life—people disconnected from the rhythms of the planet moving from insulated box to insulated box—merely replacing one transportation mode with another. Rather, the bicycle and Critical Mass rides are paradigmatic transitions to cities of less cement, more people (the population is not going down despite your wishful thinking), less strife and fewer roads! In poor urban neighborhoods, entire highways are built without so much as one walkover while bridges are built and rebuilt for cars only. How much racism, earth-rape, sexism and death is directly or indirectly related to our addiction to automobiles? It is an auto-cracy!

Critical Mass is a "xerocracy," or rule by the copy machine, with no leaders. Whoever wants to organize a movement of 25, 100, or 1,000+ cyclists through the busiest streets at rush hour has the power to end the auto-cracy. The first and most successful Critical Mass rides are credited to the San Francisco Bay Area. In July 1994 over 1,000 cyclists screamed over the Golden Gate Bridge during rush hour! Imagine the headache for motorheads!

In Washington, DC, Auto-Free DC has attracted over 40 riders to its downtown rides, held every other week, and over 70 to its "Free Rock Creek National Park" rides held each month. New York City has a strong and diverse auto-free crowd, and cities as far as Rio and Poznan, Poland, have seen Critical Mass. I have been a part of spontaneous, somewhat masochistic, Critical Mass rides with as few as four people. Wherever the city or town, whatever the number of cyclists, skaters or walkers, the following is an incomplete guide on how to create Critical Mass. The Auto-Free Bay Area Coalition also has a Critical Mass How-To available, complete with copyable fliers. Send postage (at least) to: GRIP, 41 Sutter St #1829, San Francisco, CA 94104.

START A CRITICAL MASS RIDE: All it takes is a bunch of cyclists, a little time and resolve. Obtain a Critical Mass flier from another city or make your own announcing the ride a month in advance. Small fliers stapled or secured to parked bikes prior to the ride attract dedicated cyclists who are essential to form an affinity group. Also post flyers in as many free places as possible, even the malls where many unconscious youth desperately seek rebellion. Meet at a central location in the city, perhaps a downtown park, cafe, campus, or bike shop. Contact local bicycle shop, in-line skate and skateboard shops, clubs etc.

GOALS: There are various schools of thought or mindlessness that have developed around the stated goals of Critical Mass rides. Life is chaotic and this is usually the first goal of many riders—create unfettered chaos; release entropy into the city, WILD IN THE STREETS!! This has the advantage of excitement and adrenaline, and is firmly rooted in anarchist tradition of "propaganda by the deed." The disadvantage in my experience is that fights break out, often without notice of the entire group, and the general attitude of bystanders (pedestrians not yet in their cars are usually supportive because they are not caught behind you) diminishes into, "get a job!" or "go home!" and many riders are rather straight folks who enjoy the safety in numbers and not the chants of "Fuck the car culture!" Make sure you know what kind of ride your group



The rugged individualism of Missoula, Montana's Critical Mass.

photo by Jesse Poppick

wants before you begin, otherwise morale will drop to zero and future rides may suffer. If there are enough riders, two separate rides can resolve a split in motives, but I highly discourage this.

The goals of the ride should be positive. For example, some riders on our initial rides had never spoken to the public as a protester and continually stated that our purpose was to "get bike lanes." While that is a likely bone many cities will throw at Auto-Free activists, it is only a tiny step in the process of creating auto-free zones and cities. If a purpose must be shouted to people on sidewalks, make it a positive one such as "We're taking back the streets!" or "We're cleaning up the city for our children—no more noise and pollution—Bikes First!" And recently after the brutal murder-by-fossil-beast of a bike messenger, DC activists shouted "No more dead bicyclists!" Many rides carry two pieces of propaganda, one for car drivers stuck behind the mass and one for the bystanders, explaining a little about ride. These violence-mitigators work well.

DETAILS: Helmets should be recommended but not required, as everyone accepts liability for their own actions. These rides can be dangerous, especially for inexperienced cyclists and in larger cities. Irate drivers, usually men in sports cars, often speed around the mass into oncoming traffic endangering everyone. If a "hot one" is immediately behind the group, surround the car or truck and explain to the driver (whose window will most certainly be down belching obscenities) that they'd better calm down, as they are not going anywhere. It is important to stay together, yet as "inflated" or spread out as a possible. "Snails" or extra slow riders break the group up and isolate themselves, and this should be discouraged. Ask the snails to blockade the road next week if that's what they want to do.

LOOPS VS. ONE-WAY ROUTES: Establish a route and explain it or map it out before the ride starts. The route should coincide with the greatest traffic flows as much as possible, save highways (though the Bay Area crowd did manage to get on the highway before 60-plus were arrested!) Arrests are rare, except when spontaneous choke-ins and die-ins snarl entire intersections and the cops choose to move in. The bike is an excellent get-away vehicle, and with more and more "bike cops" the police are learning about life on the other side of the wheel—outside of their steel boxes. A loop route works great and provides a variety of streets and traffic types (outbound, cross-town, etc.). One-way routes work the best though. The point is driven home and in major cities the news helicopters get in on the action and the ride gets instant coverage. Pick a major outbound (for evening) or inbound (for morning) artery and clog it like a Whopper in a fat man's chest. Since signals are timed, often stopping one block of traffic from moving ahead is enough to cause grid-lock and instantly shut a section of the city. Continue riding a certain distance out, or end the ride at a park or bar or whatever, but keep it clogged for a long time. Pittsburgh would make a very fun zig-zag route over every bridge in town. In DC, Connecticut Avenue runs over a bridge and through a tunnel, and riders enjoy a symphony of horns in the tunnel.

THE AMBULANCE DILEMMA: Is it better to let the ambulance through—to avoid an instant bad rap and risk having all rides shut down—or to prevent the noisemaker from "saving" yet another consuming human, probably from a car wreck!?!? In these early years of Critical Mass it is best to let the poor bastards through (it could be a cyclist or pedestrian), but don't let anyone else sneak by.

OBEYING LAWS: This issue continually divides cyclists. In my opinion, as reflected in my riding style, signals, stop signs and the like were made for cars, not for bikes. Until there is equality for bicycles, I ride to survive. In large cities, cyclists often garner a bad reputation because of this style, especially because of bike messengers who flaunt their speed and skills by dodging cars and generally doing as they please. Critical Mass rides have no rules except those the group agrees to. In Columbia, Missouri, a group tactic was to ride *en masse* through an intersection where pressure plates in the road triggered the signal. The group did not weigh enough to trip the signal, and they legally stood at the red light preventing any cars from rolling on the plate (at four-ways, both sides would have to be covered). Create your own tactics. On our last ride yellow meant go and red meant stop. This kept cars stuck at almost every red light. When overtaking cars already caught in traffic, it is best for the lead riders to quickly move to the front (usually at a signal or stop sign) and stop while the rest catch up. Make sure the fastest, experienced riders are in front and the calmest, experienced riders are in back. ALWAYS cover the entire lane(s). Do not cross the yellow line. If the group chooses to run lights and stop signs, it should be done very carefully and with the first two or three riders stopping and then standing in front of flowing traffic. Experiments with allowing cars one lane while the group takes up two failed miserably, as no jam was created and drivers were distracted by the group while trying to merge into the single passing lane. This is extremely dangerous.

COPS: As long as the group is moving, police generally will not intervene. However, some small-town groups have experienced harassment and arrests from cops. Riders have been fined for not riding to the side of the road or not traveling single-file. Also, winter rides often end in the dark, and no lights may lead to fines. Entering highways and stopping in traffic or intersections brings harsher responses and penalties, but is worth a try with large, experienced groups.

Finally, single roads through urban parks or other semi-wild places are excellent targets for a sustained campaign. Washington DC's Rock Creek National Park, the wildest urban park in the US, is a commuter hell every rush hour. Rides are held there every month, and have met with positive media coverage and strong public support.

Critical Mass is continually evolving and should be used as another tool in the efforts to halt new roads, the car culture, urban sprawl, or even single trucks (carrying toxic sludge or missiles). If there are not enough riders who want to engage in this melee with cars, don't fret, think up different tactics. One or two people on bikes could cause a lot of hassle if they wanted to. Pedestrian actions are great too. Many towns and college campuses have one or two mandatory-stopping crosswalks. Get a group to continually walk through the cross walk. Isolated rural, but busy roads would be an easy target for a one way ride. How about Shenadoah National Park's Skyline Drive, that scar on the Blue Ridge, or roads in any national park?!? As Dan Rather once said, "Americans will put up with anything provided it doesn't block traffic." Happy riding.

Send your ideas to Auto-Free DC, PO Box 21021, Washington, DC 20009, 202-452-5950.

Cities with Critical Mass Rides include: Annapolis, MD; Arcata, CA; Athens, GA; Austin, TX; Burlington, VT; Boston, MA; Columbia, MO; Columbus, OH; Eugene, OR; Madison, WI; Minneapolis, MN; Missoula, MT; New York City; Ottawa, Ontario; Portland, OR; Poznan, Poland; Reno, NV; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Sacramento, CA; San Francisco, CA; San Luis Obispo, CA; Santa Cruz, CA; Seattle, WA; Toledo, OH; Toronto, Ontario; and Washington, DC.

photo by Steven Lane

Portland, Oregon's Critcal Mass. Portland Mass riders are suing the City of Portland in federal court for unlawfully excluding them from Pioneer Courthouse Square last fall. The city aims to settle out of court.

Mexican Corporations Assault Wetlands, People

The Crimes of Sidek and Costa Banderas

BY TLALOC-CAZA

The Sidek corporation has assaulted the Salado wetlands near Puerto Vallarta to destroy habitat viability and allow for further development.

Evidence points to the intentional dumping of thousands of liters of gasoline, the covert relocation of hundreds of crocodilians, and the intentional diversion of Puerto Vallarta's sewage directly onto the wetlands behind Sidek's development, "Marina Vallarta I." Outgoing President Salinas de Gortari, in the last days of his term, expropriated the remainder of the wetlands to make way for Sidek's "Marina Vallarta II."

CBC wielded its political power and forced the relocation of the Corral del Risco villagers at gunpoint while bulldozers leveled their homes.

Marina Vallarta I caused the total destruction of a large portion of the wetlands habitat. Sewage effluents from the development are connected to the storm drain system and empty directly into the marina and ocean, posing an ongoing health threat. Several thousand hotel rooms and condominiums connect to the system and the amount of sewage is staggering. In spite of Sidek's violations of municipal and state regulations regarding sewage pumping and treatment, they have never been cited or fined. The stench of sewage during early morning and low tide has incited public opposition to Marina Vallarta II.

Despite the continuing onslaught, the Salado retains its habitat viability. It serves as an important link in the Pacific flyway for migrating birds and constitutes the single most important regional spawning ground for marine and wetlands fauna. The Salado is the largest wetlands habitat on what is the world's second largest bay, the Bahia de Banderas.

Public opinion is firmly opposed to further development in the wetlands: Pro-ecology, citizen-action groups, and local journalists have united in protest. Recently, over three hundred citizens marched to the town square in Puerto Vallarta to demonstrate against the destruction. Furthermore, organizers have gathered over 600 signatures in support of a class-action lawsuit now filed against individuals and corporations who have committed crimes against the regional ecosystem.

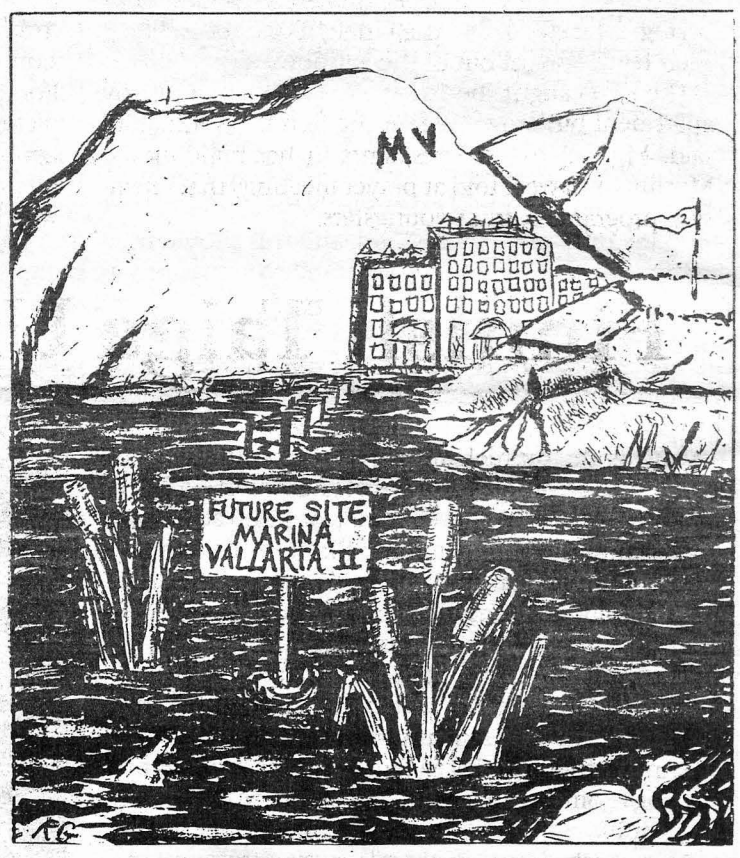
CBC's master plan for their self-labeled "ecological development" includes a private airstrip, three Jack Niklaus golf courses and a Four Seasons resort hotel.

Recent Mexican legislation mandates the protection of wetlands—including the Salado. The expropriation of the Salado is a clear example of how the eco-demagoguery utilizes domestic legislation for foreign diplomacy rather than real domestic policy.

Sidek stands to gain a windfall of several hundred million dollars if the wetlands are declared dead and development goes undeterred. In less than a decade, Sidek's formula for dredging and filling swamps has transformed the corporation into the national leader in resort and marina development. They further increase their profit margin by employing shoddy construction techniques. Condominium owners in Marina Vallarta I have sued the corporation as a result of sinking foundations, structural failure and breakage of water and drain pipes.

Several Sidek associates have joined to form Costa Banderas Corporation (CBC), which recently "purchased" 27 kilometers (totaling 2600 acres) of unique oceanfront property which is classified as sub-tropical desert. The land was formerly held in a government land trust. CBC bought the land at $0.50 (US) per square meter, despite its market value at up to $50 (US) per square meter, and plans to use the land for its "Punta Mita" development. The land trust had expropriated the land from an agricultural cooperative who never received fair compensation for the land. The cooperative claims the statute of limitations for compensation expired over a decade ago, and therefore legal ownership should revert to them. The cooperative has only received about a third of the money CBC paid to the land trust.

Since swamps are federally-owned property in Mexico, a study of Punta Mita's impact was a prerequisite to its approval. President Salinas and the Cousteau Society entered into a highly touted, internationally publicized agreement with the local government to evaluate the ecosystem which dominates the CBC land purchase. Ironically, the man contracted as chief consultant for the study was at the time the principle shareholder in CBC, Mr. Jorge Gomez Vasquez Aldana. Mr. Aldana adamantly denies any suggestion that he had a conflict of interest, even though he was in a position to increase the value of CBC's land holdings by many fold.



To make matters worse, the study completely ignored three wetland areas and a fifty-year-old fishing village, Corral del Risco. Soon after the study's recommendations became legal mandate, CBC wielded its political power and that of its billionaire associate, Fernando Senderos, and forced the relocation of the Corral del Risco villagers at gunpoint while bulldozers leveled their homes. The population was relocated to the site of a newly land-filled swamp that the CBC study also failed to catalogue or evaluate.

The action was not only ecocide but also theft of lands held in public trust. Seventy-five acres of oceanfront property was coerced from the village in exchange for a five-acre, land-filled parcel without oceanfront. Several dozen men from the village were forcibly and violently imprisoned. The state government personally delivered an ultimatum that if the villagers did not reconcile themselves to the forced relocation, the women and children would soon join them in prison.

The Cousteau Society has been made aware of how the study they sponsored has been misused, but they have done nothing to rectify the situation. They simply fired their Latin American representative, and washed their hands of the situation.

CBC's master plan for their self-labeled "ecological development" includes a private airstrip, three Jack Niklaus golf courses, and a Four Seasons resort hotel to be built on a parcel of land that even the corrupt study calls fragile. Ironically, the only nearby well capable of providing enough water for the project is owned by the cooperative that fear that CBC will attempt to seize control of the resources they require to subsist as an agricultural community.

Legislation alone cannot protect Mexico's natural wildlife habitat, nor can capricious enforcement that favors the moneyed and politically powerful elite. Individuals and corporations guilty of engaging in criminal actions against the environment and its inhabitants cannot be tolerated. The international press and concerned world citizens share a moral and civic responsibility to expose profiteers who exploit the third world poor and the environment in which they live. Grassroots activists must watchdog mainstream environmental groups to ensure that they fulfill their promises.

Please protest these ecology and human rights violations by writing the following culprits: Sidek S. A. de C. V., Presidente, Lic. Jorge Martinez Guitron, Ave. Circunvaladcion Agustin Yanez #2343, Col. Moderna, Guadalajara, Jalisco C.P. 44100, Mexico; His Excellency, Mr. Jose Luis Cuevas Hilditch, Ambassador, Mexican Embassy, 1911 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; Ms. Kathleen Turner, Vice President, Four Seasons, 1165 Leslie Street, Don Mills, Ontario M3C2K8, Canada; Jean Michel Cousteau, Cousteau Society, 870 Greenbriar, Chesapeake, Virginia 23320; Sr. Fernando Senderos, Costa Banderas/Punta Mita, S.A. de C. V., Condominios Marina Golf, Avenida Paseo de la Marina 9 local no. 1, Col. Marina Vallarta, Jalisco, C.P. 48359, Mexico.

TV TOSS

Sick of TV violence and sex? Throw the rascals out!

Hundreds of Bombay residents did just that, hurling their television sets out the window to protest violence and sex on TV.

None of the 1,200 residents of two apartment buildings in the fashionable neighborhood of Versova in Bombay now owns a television set, The Pioneer newspaper reported.

It started a few months ago when Safira Ali Mohammad and her family disconnected the television set one night, carried it to the window of their highrise apartment and hurled it down.

"There was a tremendous crash. Many neighbors rushed out," the newspaper quoted Mohammad as saying. Minutes later, their neighbors also pushed their television set out of the window.

The idea caught the fancy of residents in a nearby apartment building. "We set the trend," Mohhamad said. Most of the 365 residents in her building are Muslims and were told at prayer meetings that television programs corrupt youngsters.

Brazilian Natives Block Dam

On Saturday, January 7th, fifty officers of the Roraima Military Police and seven soldiers of the Brazilian Army invaded the Macuxi (Ma-cu-shi) Indian community Caraparu II, and destroyed three houses, a corral, and a livestock pen. Four hundred indians, including women, children, and elders were driven out of their village, two Macuxi were seriously injured, and seven others beaten.

The reason for the invasion was to remove the Macuxi, who have challenged the state government's plans for construction of the Cotingo River Hydroelectric Dam within the Raposa/Serra do Sol Indigenous Area, as delineated by Brazil's Federal Government in 1993. Under the Brazilian constitution, hydroelectric dams may not be constructed within Indigenous lands without authorization of the National Congress and the consent of the Indigenous community to be affected.

The Macuxi occupied the work site of the dam in an effort to halt construction. They fear that the dam will flood their fields, kill the fish in the river, and facilitate the take-over of their lands by companies planting soy monocultures.

The government of Roraima, through its state electric company, CER, requested permission in 1992 from the National Department of Waters and Electrical Energy (DNAEE) to move forward with plans for the dam. That authorization has not been granted. Nevertheless, the CER obtained a license from the State Environmental Secretariat of Roraima to build the dam. The environmental impact assessment prepared by the state Secretariat has been criticized by the Amazon Research Institute, the Pro-Indian Commission of Sao Paulo and the Indigenous Council of Romaina (CIR) as being superficial, imprecise, incomplete, and misleading. Authorities in Roraima also ignored testimony from the Environmental Department of the Brazilian electric company, Eletrobras, which advised against approving the study.

It should be noted that the ex-Governor of Roraima, Ottomar de Souza Pinto, who chose his successor, plans to head a consortium of private companies (Andrade Gutierrez and Paranapanema) and one state company to construct the hydroelectric dam, which makes the participation of the military in this episode even more troubling.

Military police and members of the Army continue to occupy the area. CIR has asked government officials to remove the police from the area, to request clarification from the Army about its participation in this illegal operation and for the Federal Public Ministry to take all measures necessary to protect the Macuxi.

Military violence against Macuxi Indians in Raposa/Serra do Sol has become commonplace. This disgraceful event is even more ironic in light of the statement by the President of Eletrobras that "the way in which CER carries out its relationship with other segments of society is of crucial importance for the Electric Sector. Obtaining environmental licenses and future social approval in the Amazon will be strongly influenced by these actions. The radicalization of positions and the crystallization of a false dichotomy between "environment versus development" could have serious impacts on future initiatives of the Sector."

Please write protesting the Brazilian police and military's assault on the Macuxi and requesting and immediate investigation of the facts regarding the invasion of the indian area and the punishment of those responsible for this illegal attack.

Exc. Sr. Presidente Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Presidente da Republica Federativa do Brasil, Palacio do Planalto, 3 andar, 70150 Brasilia, DF - Brasil, Fax (011-55-61) 226-7566; Exc. Sr. Ministro Nelson Jobim, Ministro da Justica, Esplanada dos Ministerios, Bloco T, Setor Civico Administrativo, 70055-900 Brasilia, DF - Brasil, Fax: (011-55-61) 321-1565

For more information, contact Glenn Switkes, International Rivers Network, phone (510) 848-1155, fax: (510) 848-1008, e-mail: glenirn@igc.apc.org.

Finnish Taiga Under Attack

BY MATTI IKONEN

Outside the municipality of Kuusamo in northern Finland, there are 58,000 acres of taiga forest currently under threat of the saw. Clearcuts of 1,200 acres have been standard in the Kuusamo forest in the past two years. No ecological guidelines are followed. No snags or key biotopes are left on the clearcut, and logging is always followed by tree farm planting. Activists are currently fighting to protect the pristine forests .

Both the Finnish Forest and Park Service(FPS) and the Forest Common (a land trust) are responsible for logging in the area. Large Finnish timber companies buy logs from the FPS, who deliver the logs directly to their mills.

After much negotiation and pressure from international and national non-governmental organizations, several Finnish mills announced that they would not buy timber from old-growth forests. The Finnish Forest Industries Federation (FFIF) has endorsed this policy.

Activists have tried to ensure this promise is kept by marking ancient trees in the Commons with red stamps saying "*aarniometsaa*" (pristine forest). So far, several big timber operations have avoided purchasing the stamped timber. However, local sawmills buy all big logs and have purchased stamped timber although activists turned one truckload away. Some locals bought two truckloads of marked timber, as well. Overall, though, the cooperation of the large milling companies indicates that the strategy is working.

Another sign of the activist's effectiveness is that forest common officials have erected gates at all forestry roads built since the protest ensued. Activists forced one gate open when the minister of environment came to see the area and again when television crews came in to film old-growth logging.

In spite of the mill-owners' compliance with the stamping campaign, Forest Common officials continue to authorize logging *aarniometsaa*. Perhaps they are utilizing supply-side economics and expect to eventually find a buyer for all of the logs. Still, the stamping campaign is fairly new and may prove to be a successful long-term strategy.

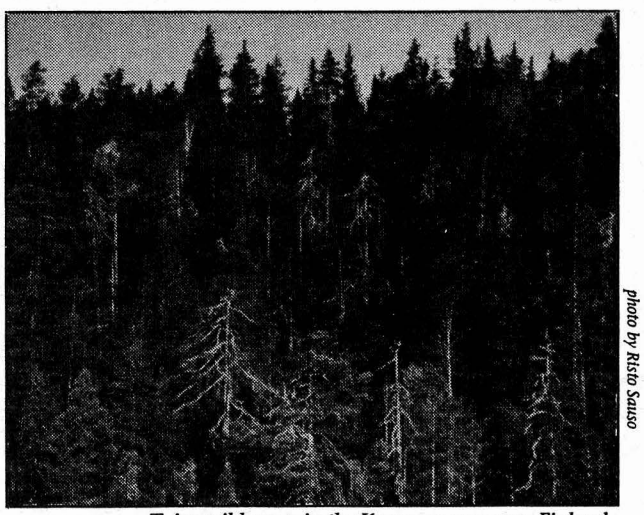


photo by Risto Sauso

Taiga wilderness in the Kuusamo common, Finland.

The activists are relieved to have found a strategy that works. There are no laws in Finland to prevent this kind of terrorism to taiga. The minister of the environment can give guidance but it is not legally binding.

Provincial authority has been unable to stop logging and roadbuilding . The governor of Oulu province has arranged negotiations with the Forest Common officials since they have not heeded the guidelines set by the ministry of environment. The governor's negotiations continue, but the Forest Common authorities have already logged 125 acres from an area that was to remain untouched pending an environmental study.

The minister of forestry, Mikko Pesala, announced recently that the government will authorize intensive cutting of old growth on the lands before summer. The committee on old-growth protection must decide soon which valuable areas to sacrifice to logging.

International pressure is now needed. Readers should write to Finnpap, the major paper distributor in Finnland, and ask them to buy no pulp from ancient forests; Teppo Koski, Finnpap, box 380, Helsinki, FIN-00100, Finland. For more information, contact Matti Ikonen, The Nature League, Ahjolan koulu, FIN-89730 Ahjola, Finland, e-mail: matti.ikonen@hut.fi.

THAI SINGER SUBVERTS DOMINANT PARADIGM

Popular rock star Add Carabao has made the entire Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) fume with rage and that might cost him hundreds of thousands of baht.

EGAT unionists declared yesterday all employees of the state agencies and their family members will boycott Add's latest album, "No Problem," which contains a song lambasting dams.

"His thinking is rude," sniffed EGAT union leader Sucha Chullapetch, who sent a statement to news offices to protest the song "Dam."

"No Problem" focuses on environmental issues. One song is dedicated to Seub Nakhasathien, a well-known forester who committed suicide after failing to protect animals from poachers.

During a New Year's concert, several singers gave blessings to the audience, but Add ignored the tradition: "I'm not worried about humans," he shouted. "I wish all wild animals were safe."

Sacha said Add might just be pretending to love forests and animals to promote his songs.

"He uses bad language and exciting music to arouse listeners," the unionist said.

Sacha's statement said Egat workers and their families, "which means hundreds of thousands of people," will join to boycott "No Problem."

"We will neither buy nor listen to this tape and we won't buy the products of manufacturers who sponsor it," the statement said.

Following is a translation of the song "Dam": *Dams. Where do they come from? Why do we need them? Why are they using rocks, steel, cement and dynamite to destroy the jungle? Cool streams will turn black. No fish can be seen. Animals will have no place to live. Here come the dams, elephants shout. Here come the dams, monkeys chorus. What are they for? Just imagine who has interests in jungles? Animals love their lives. But they can't beg for mercy...Forests and mountains will be ruined. Dams go tumbling down. No more! elephants shout. Dams tumble down. There are no monkeys left. Dams go tumbling down. No people left to shout.*

MAXXAM to Sell Pacific Lumber?

EF!-Targeted Timber Corporations Among Potential Buyers

BY RANDY GHENT

Corporate takeover artist and MAXXAM Inc. chief executive Charles Hurwitz hopes to sell the Pacific Lumber Company for at least $1 billion, according to a recent *Wall Street Journal* report.

MAXXAM concedes it hired Salomon Bros. (Inc.) to develop various management options for its subsidiary, Pacific Lumber—among them a sale of over 98% of the company. Only the 3,000-acre Headwaters Grove—the largest unprotected ancient redwood grove in the world—and a surrounding 1,500 acre buffer zone would remain in Hurwitz's hands. Hurwitz hopes to sell the grove and buffer to the government for $600 million, but environmentalists see this price tag as corporate posturing. The figure is based on the grove's lumber potential if existing regulations were stripped.

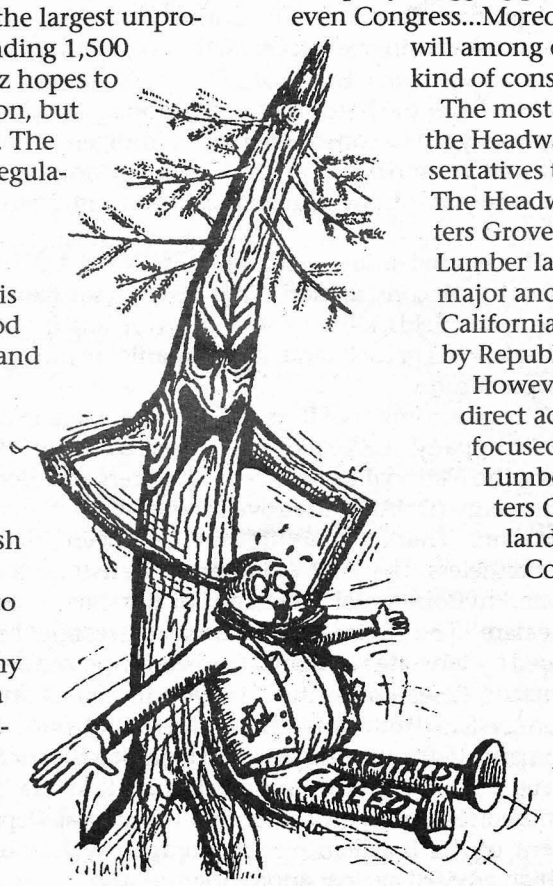
Pacific Lumber's remaining holdings—193,000 acres of largely degraded forestland and clearcuts, as well as the company's three mills—would be sold under the plan. This includes roughly 2,000 acres of untouched ancient redwood groves, small untouched stands of old-growth Douglas fir and several thousand acres of partially cut ancient forest.

Hurwitz is asking $1 billion for Pacific Lumber—over three times more than MAXXAM paid in its 1985 junk bond takeover—even though much of Pacific Lumber's assets have been liquidated since 1985. Unidentified *Wall Street Journal (*the *Journal)* sources said Hurwitz wants to cash out on profits made largely by cutting ancient redwoods since the takeover using the Pacific Lumber sale proceeds to bolster other MAXXAM investments.

Rebuffing the *Journal*, MAXXAM management denied any intention to sell Pacific Lumber, stating that "contrary to a published report, [we are] not pursuing the various alternatives that were developed" for Pacific Lumber by Salomon Bros.

But the *Journal* reported that Hurwitz has already approached several possible Pacific Lumber buyers, including Weyerhaeuser Corp. (which is trying to clearcut Siberia), Louisiana "We-Log-to-Infinity" Pacific, Plum Creek Timber Co. (notorious for square-mile Northern Rockies clearcuts), Sierra Pacific Industries (California's largest private landowner), and Simpson Investment Co. (of Olympic Peninsula and redwood coast clearcut fame). The *Journal* also reported:

"Prospective buyers say Mr. Hurwitz is weary of the pressure on the company's logging plans from environmental lawsuits, wildlife regulations and even Congress...Moreover, they say Pacific Lumber has generated so much ill will among environmentalists that any buyer is likely to face the same kind of constant opposition that Mr. Hurwitz has encountered."



The most recent opposition to Hurwitz was the campaign to pass the Headwaters Forest Act, a bill which passed the House of Representatives this year but did not receive a vote before the full Senate. The Headwaters bill could have designated the 3,000-acre Headwaters Grove as wilderness and ceded up to 44,000 acres of Pacific Lumber land to the Six Rivers National Forest—including all six major ancient redwood groves. The bill's author and champion, California freshman Rep. Dan Hamburg (D-Ukiah), was unseated by Republican Frank Riggs in the recent election.

However, plans are in the works for a summer '95 Earth First! direct action campaign after the EF! Round River Rendezvous focused on saving Headwaters. Since MAXXAM took over Pacific Lumber, Earth First! has unceasingly fought to save the Headwaters Grove and an additional 95,000 acres of Pacific Lumber land included in EF!'s proposed Headwaters Wilderness Complex.

In a related development last year, MAXXAM settled lawsuits filed by ex-Pacific Lumber shareholders attempting to take back the company. The plaintiffs claimed a total of $2 billion in fraud in Hurwitz's Pacific Lumber takeover, but he settlement cost MAXXAM only $15 million, not including the portion covered by insurance. Hurwitz's consistent ability to squeeze out of countless similar disputes has earned him the title, "the Houdini of High Finance."

FOW Highway Blockade

continued from front page

the ground to protect himself and his gear from the ensuing punches and grabs, FOW's videographer approached and the official backed off.

For some strange reason the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) could not find any witnesses to the action set-up. Perhaps knowing that acts of mischief and assault were recorded on film and video, the station officials thought it best to remain silent. In an act of appreciation, FOW's media agent decided not to press charges.

A few minutes after the initial excitement, the RCMP and media showed up. The fire truck arrived a bit later. Traffic was being rerouted through the weigh station while the cops tried to grasp the situation. A media circus was in full swing. After many stupid questions (you know the ones: "who's in charge?", "who's responsible?", "are you going away?"—*Nobody, I don't know, and NO!*) a tow truck was called in to remove the car, and firefighters extinguished the fires. The Alaska Highway looked like a scene of destruction and was as slippery as an ice rink.

While the RCMP decided whether to press charges, the entire FOW media crew escaped unnoticed, leaving the cops with no photos or videos to confiscate. Potentially incriminating footage was already safely stashed prior to the cops arrival. The RCMP then "arrested" two protesters in a pathetic attempt intimidate them into giving their names. The police pressed no charges.

In a effort to save face from FOW activists running circles around them, Canada's Finest stated to the press that the public should not worry about FOW because they have intelligence files, Oooh, scary! (Is that what that telephone-repair truck sitting across the street for the past eight days was all about?) In their statements, the RCMP made loose suggestions that locals should "take care" of FOW activists, the RCMP also compared masked activists to the KKK. A few days later, an activist's car was egged and had three of its tires slashed. A threatening note was left behind.

FOW blockaded and occupied the Alaska Highway, the only throughway in this area, for over an hour. The story aired prominently in all the media, going national on CBC. (The FOW campaign and the wolf kill issue is a daily story in the local press.) No one was arrested and the people of the Yukon, specifically the Yukon Territorial Government, have once again heard the message: Stop the wolf slaughter!

To better your understanding of what FOW is dealing with, here are a few factoids: grizzly bears are still hunted legally both in spring and fall. In some areas, hunters have are no limit on the number of wolves they can kill. The government leader John Ostashek is a former guide outfitter who has been documented as hunting at unsustainable levels. He sold his outfitting operation to his son-in-law, and it happens to be located exactly where some of the wolf kill is taking place. To top it all off, hunters can turn in their moose antlers and lower jaw bones to the Dept. of Renewable Resources and receive a hat-badge or a spill-proof coffee mug! Welcome to the 7-11 of wildlife management!

FOW arrived in the Yukon in early December to prepare for the third year of this campaign. To their surprise, it was unclear if the wolf slaughter would continue. Boldly making the first move, FOW offered a $5,000 reward for current inside information on the Department of Renewable Resources' plans to eradicate the wolves of the Aishihik. This tactic forced the government to take a stand; within two days the Yukon government announced its plans to continue the slaughter.

Friends of the Wolf has set up a base house in Whitehorse, population 18,000. The wolf-kill zone is approximately 4 hours away. FOW's field agents go on recon missions to area airports every morning that flying is likely, and the group is organizing back country forays on snowmobiles. The Cold Mountain, Cold Rivers video team is here to document the campaign, and Lighthawk may be here soon to lend their air support. An international tourism boycott is underway, with pressure coming from groups and individuals from the US and Europe. And, of course, direct intervention in the wolf kill will take place as the opportunities present themselves.

The kill could go on until the end of February, and activists are encouraged to come up and help out. Most gear, all food and balaclavas provided. Interested folks can call and leave a message on our voice mail. Call (604) 290-9256 for more details on travel.

These EXIT Times

Free Gratis

Special *Earth First! Journal* Edition — *"May we live long and die out"* — Pre-2000 Version

VHEMT logo rich in symbolism

● V stands for Voluntary — a value to keep foremost among us as conditions change.

The V shape also depicts the confluence of logic and love to make a receptive and balanced point.

● Our world undergoes a revolution of 180 degrees: the opposite view of what we're used to. Our direction must shift radically to preserve and expand ecosystems.

Upside down emblems are symbols of distress.

● The VHEMT concept goes over the whole world. Hanging banners is essential to getting our message across. Without a label, people won't know what to think.

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Printed on recyclable paper

Of course it's recyclable. *Everything's* recyclable if you wanna spend enough money on it. That doesn't mean it's ever gonna happen.

Rather than recycling this, please pass it along

Voluntary human extinction: One brick shy of a full solution?

Sounds like paradise, doesn't it? Gaia completely cured of *pox humanus*. Without us meddlesome humans, all other species would get their fair chance at survival.

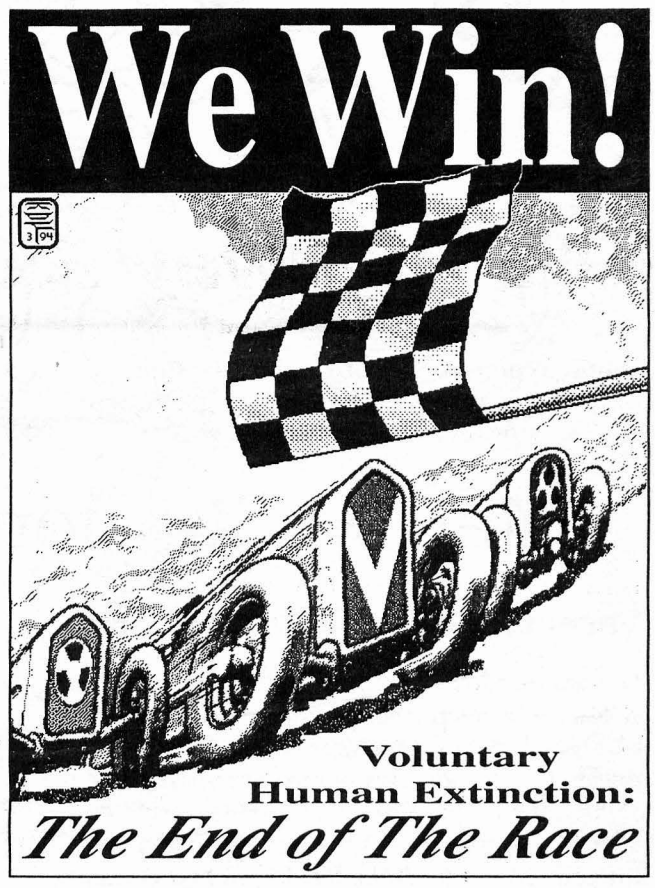
Naturally, it's not that simple, but just for fun, let's envision an impossible dream: all human sperm suddenly and permanently loses viability — no impregnated human egg begins meiosis to form a zygote — none transforms into the sacred fetus, is carried to term and sentenced to life. Zero conceptions, wanted nor un.

A wonderful fantasy. Phones in crisis pregnancy centers would fall mysteriously silent. Sperm banks would go bankrupt after fraudulently milking the infertile dry. Adoption agencies would fruitlessly increase baby bounties, and charge an arm and a leg for whoever's in stock, damaged or not. Needless panic would be hilarious. Like people frantically searching for their oars after the boat has beached.

Benefits would begin immediately for both biosphere and humanity. Resources wasted on redundant breeding could be redirected to existing members of the human family in need. Loving care and nurturing now expended raising superfluous heirs could be given over to stopping the killing and beginning the healing. A sweet dream.

However, an alternative birthless future is also possible. One where people see no need to preserve Earth's biosphere since none of our kind will be around to enjoy cartoons of it. Nature's destruction could just as easily continue unabated as we pass into extinction. It doesn't take billions of humans to destroy massive ecosystems, as shown by the exploits of empires from ancient times through the present.

No, human extinction alone won't save Earth's biosphere. Our collective consciousness must evolve from homocentric to ecocentric: to where Earth has first priority. Then, finally, our efforts will shift from desperate, often futile, "damage control" to a hopeful restoration of natural balance in Earth's ecosystems. EXIT



Stop at two? Stop at once!

"Stop at two" may have been a radical proclamation when ZPG was founded in 1968, but it was barely adequate even then. Replacement level fertility of 2.1 wouldn't bring about true zero population growth until well into the next century, due to momentum.

Today the message is only slightly revised: "Consider having none or one, and be sure to stop after two."

The notion that producing two descendants simply replaces a couple and creates no increased impact is specious. We aren't salmon — we don't spawn and die. Most of us will be around to see our progeny beget, and those begotten beget to boot.

When a couple of us "replaces" ourselves, our environmental impact doubles — assuming our off-springs' lifestyles are as environmentally friendly as ours, and that they won't reproduce themselves.

The "stop at two" message actually encourages reproduction by "qualified" couples. A wanted child is better than unwanted, intelligent (whatever that is) better than stupid, and well-cared-for better than neglected, but each of us in the over-industrialized world has a huge impact on Nature regardless of these factors.

For example, in terms of energy consumption, when we stop at two it's about the same as an average East Indian couple stopping at 66, or an Ethiopian couple stopping at one thousand.

Two is better than four, and one is twice as good as two, but to purposely set out to create even one more of us today is like selling berths on a sinking ship.

Regardless of how many progeny we have or haven't produced, rather than stop at two, we must stop at once. EXIT

Positive approach a hopeful alternative to callous exploitation

These EXIT *Times* doesn't carry on about how the human race has shown itself to be a greedy, amoral parasite on the once-healthy face of this planet. That type of negativity offers no solution to the inexorable horrors which human activity is causing.

Rather, *These* EXIT *Times* presents the voluntary human extinction movement's encouraging alternative to the callous exploitation and wholesale destruction of Earth's ecology.

The hopeful alternative to the extinction of millions, probably billions, of species of plants and animals is the voluntary extinction of one species: Homo sapiens.... us.

Each time another one of us decides to not add another one of us to the burgeoning billions already squatting on this ravaged planet, another ray of hope shines through the gloom.

When every human makes the moral choice to live long and die out, Earth will be allowed to return to its former glory. Good health will be restored to Earth's biosphere — to the lifeform known to many as Gaia.

It's going to take all of us going.

In defense of parenthood

"Motherhood is a proud profession" the wise old bumpersticker says. Hard to argue with that, except to include both genders. Parenthood is one of the most critical and yet under-valued endeavors we can undertake today.

Earth First!er parents have written to the *Journal*, complaining about an attitude expressed by others in the movement, especially by the bumpersticker "Love your mother, don't become one". Space is short on those stickers, so it's not possible to explain that it doesn't mean we should abandon our children nor that mothers can't love Mother Earth.

Many VHEMT Volunteers and EF!ers are parents, having achieved awareness after making their heirs. And many non-breeders are more lucky than righteous. The past is history. What really matters is the number of off-spring we don't create in the future.

Complaints of mothers and fathers getting dissed aren't entirely imaginary. A kick butt mentality dominates our society: identify the enemy and kick its butt. Because breeding is the heaviest impact we can have on Nature, some see parents as enemies of the planet. But, if we all hop around in circles trying to kick each other's butts, all we'll get is pratfalls. It's the *causes* of procreation we need to deal with. We don't have to be brain surgeons to figure out that kicking butts isn't the way to change minds.

Plenty of young people could benefit from some responsible parenting. Those of us who are so inclined may rightly be proud of accepting the challenge and responsibility of parenting an existing child.

The work of preserving and restoring what's left of Earth's biosphere won't be finished in our lifetimes, so it's critical that we include younger people, giving them the opportunity to carry on. However, creating more of us to carry on is unnecessary and counter productive. EXIT

"May we live long and die out"

Vasectomy prevents abortion

Ignorance and superstition continue to surround male surgical contraception, though it's the surest, safest, and most economical contraceptive available. In the US, only 20% of men over 30 have tied the lover's knot. Even subtracting gay, infertile, and celibate cohorts from the computation, this tally is abysmal. Men can do better. Unwanted conceptions strike millions of women — every one caused by a man.

A lack of money may be an obstacle. Men whose Health Maintenance Organization is owned by the Catholic Church, or who have no health insurance at all, may be hard pressed to come up with $300. Some Planned Parenthood clinics have cut rate procedures for the indigent, or will refer needy men to a source.

Respect for Life, a humanitarian group promoting reproductive freedom, is raising money to help men afford vasectomies. If you can help, or if you need help, contact them at 4326 Woodstock Blvd. No. 419 Portland OR 97206-6270. EXIT

These EXIT Times
The vehement voice of the
Voluntary Human Extinction Movement
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The search for a human niche

Where on Earth do we fit?

It has been said that our environmental woes stem from being out of touch with the natural world.

Perhaps this check list will help to restore our sense of place in Nature.

Check off as many niches as fit us:

- ❑ Evolution's crowning achievement
- ❑ Most advanced being on Earth
- ❑ Integral part of the web of life
- ❑ Exotic invader, parasitic pest
- ❑ Dominator, usurper of resources
- ❑ Fluke of evolution, apart from nature
- ❑ Spiritual unifier of heaven & earth — of divinity and Nature
- ❑ Worshipper of Nature as god/goddess
- ❑ Transcender of physical realm
- ❑ Steward, caretaker of lesser species
- ❑ Equal with all life forms
- ❑ Link on the food chain
- ❑ Restorer of balance, undoer of civilization
- ❑ Defender of Nature
- ❑ Soon-to-be-extinct altruist
- ❑ _____
- ❑ _____
- ❑ _____

"Oh what a tangled field we seed when first we happen to conceive." Les U. Knight

Les Talk

Les U. Knight

"Am not!"

I've had it with all these misanthropes dissin' the human race. Awright, sure, I can understand calling us "killer apes" and "greedy parasites". After all, we're only human. But, now it's gone too far. Some are saying our species is no better than a common cancer feeding off a host organism.

True, empirical scientific evidence shows us behaving exactly like a cancerous growth on Earth's biosphere*. But humanity includes a couple of major attributes that all the scientific calibrations and computations ignore: we got logic and love.

Cancer cells are both mindless and heartless. They can't figure out what's going on and wouldn't care if they did. We're different. We're smart enough to get a grip on the situation and nice enough to go the right way with it. We can choose to bring forth a better world into reality. You'll never see a cancer cell say that with a straight face.

So, when some loud bragger tries to put us down, says we be tumorous and bad, just tell 'em right away, "Hey, what's the matter buddy, ain't you heard of our logic and love? They're number one in the cosmos." We're not malignant, we're benign.

And away we go! les

*Hern, Warren M., 1990, "Why Are There So Many of Us? Description and Diagnosis of a Planetary Ecopathological Process." *Population and Environment* Vol 12 No 1.

Eschewing Homo fecundity

For many of us Homo sapiens, it isn't enough to say, "just don't do it". Most, who aren't already parents, need alternatives.

Both men and women can feel a need to nurture and, rather than seeking satisfaction through procreation, nurturing Earth's "children" can be a viable alternative. Wildlife rehabilitation and protection, habitat preservation, reforestation, Adopt-A-Stream, and gardening are some possibilities.

For those who can't substitute Nature for humans, there is no shortage of children in need of parenting. Adoption, step and foster parenting, borrowing relatives' children, hosting exchange students, and big brother/sister programs might fill the need. Also, occupations in child care and education provide ample opportunity for sharing and caring.

Young people aren't the only ones in need of care. Helping the elderly, handicapped, or other disadvantaged folks could also satisfy altruistic needs.

Pets have less of an impact on the environment than humans, and many childfree couples find a dog or cat from the Humane Society to be an emotionally rewarding surrogate child.

The first step to finding an alternative to procreating is to rethink the pronatalist mindset of the past. From an early age, we are told we'll have children of our own some day. The questions are: when and how many? The day we answer: never again and enough already, alternatives begin to have meaning. EXIT

Balanced Love

by Chuck Swift

She is my love, she is my wife,
she wants a child, another life.
Another soul, to breathe the air,
to eat the food, to need our care.
I realize now, that I just can't,
I want to give our Earth a chance.
Emotions now, are at their worst,
but in the end, the Earth comes First!

Red herrings raise stink in think tank

How many times has this happened to you? Discussion is rolling along and everyone seems to be making progress in awareness, when all of a sudden someone drags out a red herring and you're off on some dead end trail. Maybe it's that new world odor. Here are a couple of typical stinkers you may have caught wind of:

"Over-population is more a symptom than a cause of our fundamental problems."

So, this means that Earth has too many people on it *because* of our problems rather than Earth having problems because there are too many people on it.

It's like:

"Gee, Dear, there's sure a lot of noise and pollution in the air."

"Yeah, I wish we could breathe."

"Huh? Oh, we can still breed. C'mon, coff, coff, let's make more of us."

Or maybe you can imagine:

"I'm outta work, homeless, and got a bad disease... makes me feel like creating an heir to share all this with."

Our biggest problem, destruction of Earth's biosphere, is undoubtedly a symptom rather than a cause of over-population.

But to be fair, it's true that some of our problems promote higher birth rates—especially mental problems like mindless conformity and massive denial.

In addition, problems like high mortality rates, a lack of care for the elderly, low status for women and their subsequent loss of reproductive freedom, all significantly contribute to high birth rates. In return, an excess of humans makes each of those problems worse. In some ways, over-population is both a symptom and a cause: a self-perpetuating, malicious cycle.

In contrast, voluntary human extinction is a positively motivated, beneficial cycle of solutions and benefits for all. Besides being a "symptom" of a heightened awareness, The Movement is "causing" a higher awareness. (Do I hear an "Amen, Sibling"?)

Whether our problems are symptoms or causes,they'll be more easily solved when there are fewer of us.

This distraction is a statistic: "Extinction is natural. 99.9% of all species of plants and animals that have ever existed have gone extinct."

Puts it into perspective, doesn't it? We shouldn't get peeved about a few million extinctions today. It's all part of the natural process of life on Earth.

By the same reasoning, we shouldn't care about people dying young. Most people who have ever lived are already dead, and all of us will die eventually. It follows that extinction of the human race shouldn't raise an eyebrow, either.

However, if it's true that species alive today represent only 0.1% of Earth's entire biological history, their extinctions are all the more tragic. After evolving at the expense of kabillions of other species, and passing genetic coding on through hundreds of millions of years, any species alive today deserves profound respect and reverence, including our own.

In a sense, all living things are at the peak of evolution. Sacrificing the very existence of any lifeform for something as superfluous as money is an outrageous crime against Nature.

The current extinction rate is nearly one thousand times the average for the eons, and virtually every species' demise stems from the activities of one species. Guess who.

Our voluntary extinction for the eternal good of all other life on Earth will be the ultimate demonstration of the best qualities of humanity: compassion and reason. EXIT

Why people really breed

People who decide to continue breeding can't give the true reasons they plan to repeat themselves. We have to interpret:

- To carry on the family name. = Trying to please Dad. Cult of the bloodline dupe.
- I want my kids (who don't exist yet) to have all the things I didn't have. = Unfulfilled childhood desires and fantasies.
- We'd like to try for a boy/girl this time. = Ego extension. Gender identity insecurity. Disappointment with existing progeny.
- Just love children. = Out of touch with inner child.
- Want someone to visit me when I'm old. = Insecurity. Fear of aging. Exploitative personality.
- We want to give our parents grandchildren. = Still seeking parental approval.
- I have superior human genes = oxymoron.

Although most conceptions in the US are unintended, conformity is probably the number one cause of *wanted* pregnancies. There's a fear of being different, and a reluctance to question tradition. Surprisingly, many have never *considered* not continuing to breed. Pronatalist propaganda is as rampant as it is insidious.

Presenting an antinatalist viewpoint often triggers inappropriately hostile reactions, indicating a repressed realization that continued breeding is morally unjustifiable.

Being patient while helping people break through their denial minimizes anger. EXIT

Basic programming for McLife:

First comes love,
then comes marriage,
then comes _____ (your name here)
with a baby carriage.
[REFRAIN]

Vaso-Rap

By Thom Metzgar

My band Health and Beauty did a rap which included the following:

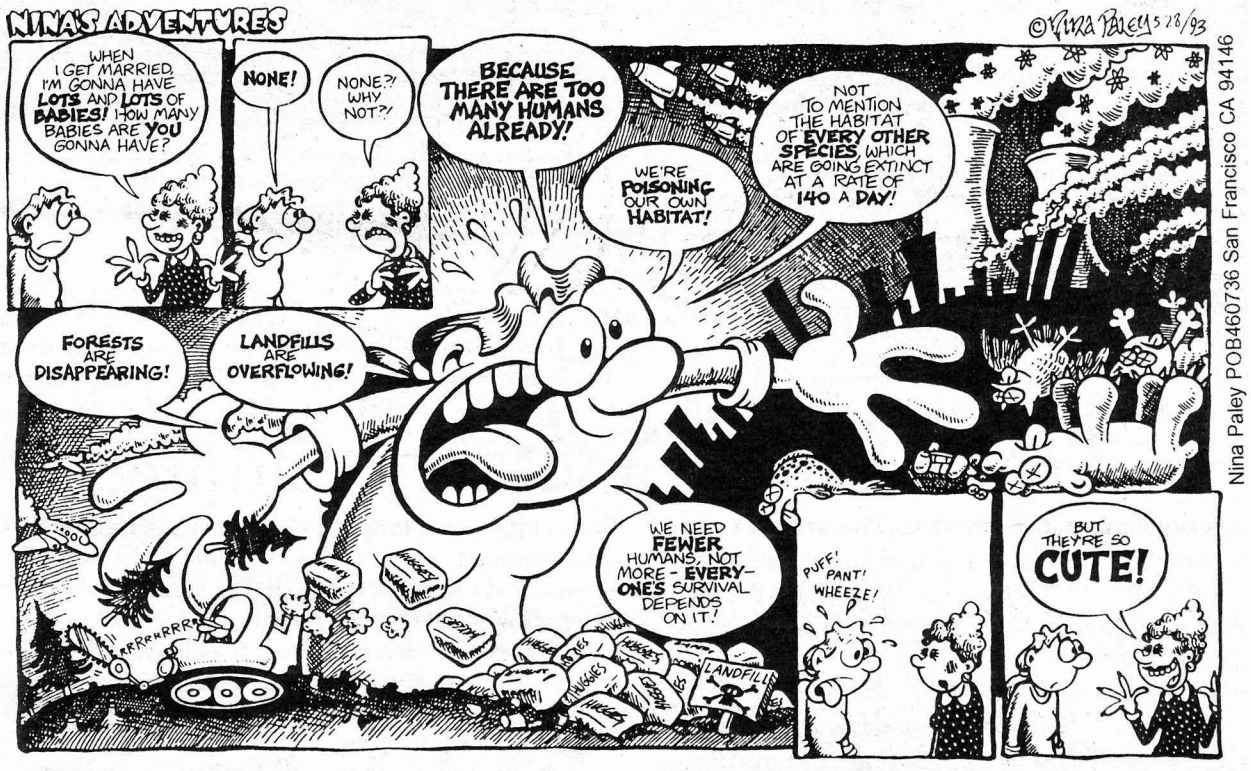
Hey everybody now listen to me
My name is Thommy M, I had a vasectomy
They cut me open and they tied that thing
and now I can't have any offspring
I give it to you straight, no if ands or buts
If you want to be a man you got to get yourself cut
Now you may say "Thommy that's a big disgrace"
Well I won't be happy 'till there ain't no human race.

Resource conservation tip

Each new North American human we don't create is the equivalent of 72 years of 100% recycling. We save 56 years of car driving, avoid tons of pollution, and prevent the potential for additional procreation 20 years later.

When the impact our descendants' descendants would have had on Earth's biosphere is added to what we are saving, it becomes astronomical. And, if we decide to not make two more of us, it's astronomical doubled.

Volunteers who are ready to make even more of a commitment might consider not producing 10 new people: 720 human-years of industrial consumption and pollution saved by just one pair of us. Congratulations! EXIT


NINA'S ADVENTURES
©Nina Paley 5/28/93
WHEN I GET MARRIED I'M GONNA HAVE LOTS AND LOTS OF BABIES! HOW MANY BABIES ARE YOU GONNA HAVE?
NONE!
NONE?! WHY NOT?!
BECAUSE THERE ARE TOO MANY HUMANS ALREADY!
WE'RE POISONING OUR OWN HABITAT!
NOT TO MENTION THE HABITAT OF EVERY OTHER SPECIES, WHICH ARE GOING EXTINCT AT A RATE OF 140 A DAY!
FORESTS ARE DISAPPEARING!
LANDFILLS ARE OVERFLOWING!
WE NEED FEWER HUMANS, NOT MORE - EVERY-ONE'S SURVIVAL DEPENDS ON IT!
PUFF! PANT! WHEEZE!
BUT THEY'RE SO CUTE!
LANDFILL
Nina Paley POB460736 San Francisco CA 94146

Official Movement Position

Since the Voluntary Human Extinction Movement isn't alive with a brain or a mouth, it can't take positions, have opinions, or get punched for being a smart-alec. Like Earth First! there is no national organization to become self-serving over time.

No committee of Movement shakers has to decide what position everyone else should take because the name is it.

Most VHEMT Volunteers subscribe to the philosophy embodied in the motto: "May we live long and die out," but if someone doesn't want to live long that's their business.

All may consider themselves VHEMT Volunteers simply by choosing to support voluntarily phasing out the human race. A couple could conceivably be expecting and decide to become Volunteers. That new human would be the last one they produced.

VHEMT Volunteers are so diverse in their religious, political, and philosophical views that formulating official Movement positions could only be divisive.

Beware of dogma.

We speak with our own voices. EXIT

Should everyone be required to pass a minimal intelligence test before receiving a

"License to Breed?"

In light of the 40,000 children dying of malnutrition each day, and considering the number of species going extinct as a result of our excessive reproduction, do you think it would be a good idea to create another of yourself?

❑ **YES** ❑ **NO**

If you answered **YES:** Sorry, your intelligence is not high enough to perform basic logic. Thank you for trying. Please consider the many options to creating "one of your own".

If you answered **NO:** Congratulations! You're smart enough to pass on your genes. Thanks for not doing so.

Subscribe to the *Earth First! Journal*
Only $25 for eight big issues packed with news of radical eco-actions from all over the planet:
PO Box 1415 Eugene, Oregon 97440.

Facing Cybernetic Reality

by Frank Forencich

It's just like a thermostat, you know, only bigger. When something gets too hot, too cold, too big, to acidic, too strong or too numerous, the power of self-regulation kicks in and gives it a dose of opposition. This is the way of all healthy eco-physiologies, from the micro to the macro.

All animal bodies regulate the growth of their individual parts. Failure to control the proliferation of cells is what we call cancer. If a population of cells manages to overcome the chemical and genetic checks on its number, it spreads throughout the body, killing it.

The parallel is too obvious to be ignored. The scale is different, but the fundamentals are the same: an excess proliferation and a failure of control. We have met the neoplasm and it is us.

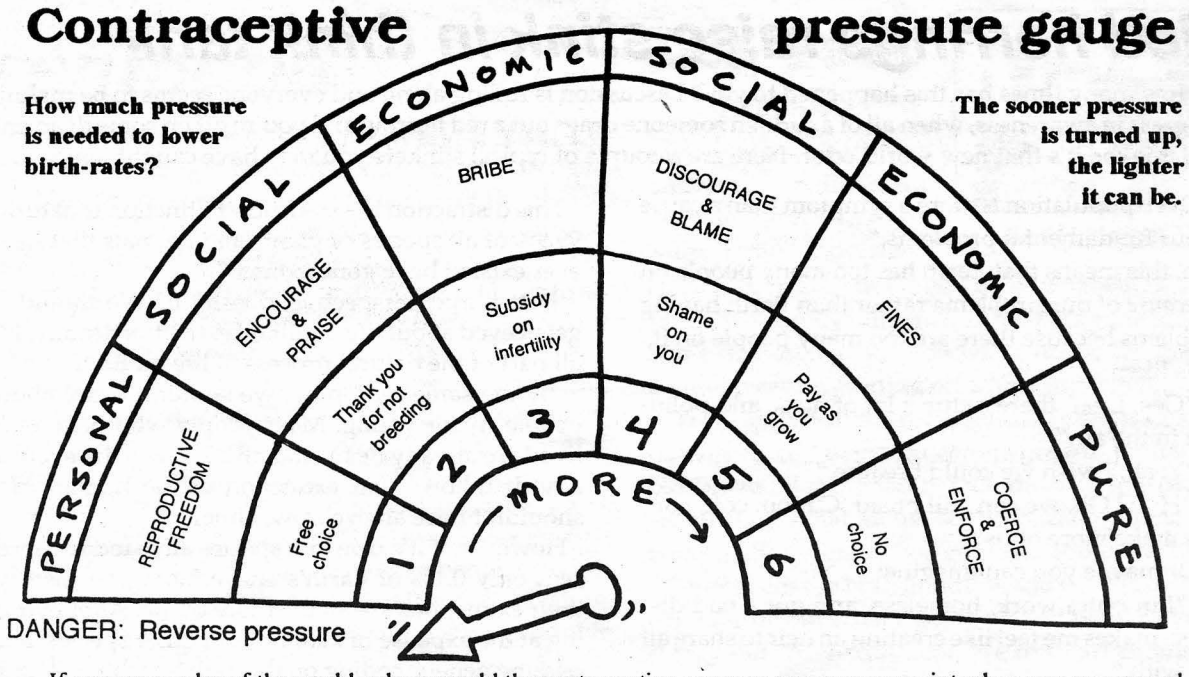
In *The Hot Zone*, Richard Preston describes the discovery and near-apocalyptic spread of the super-lethal Ebola virus:

"In a sense, the earth is mounting an immune response against the human species. Perhaps the biosphere does not 'like' the idea of five billion humans. Nature has interesting ways of balancing itself. The rain forest has its own defenses. The earth's immune system, so to speak, has recognized the presence of the human species and is starting to kick in."

The traditional methods of cancer treatment — cut, burn, or poison — are obviously out of the question. But what if the cancer cells were sentient? What if they had enough intelligence to become aware of what they were doing? Surely they would change their ways. After all, even the cancerous cell depends on the host for its continued survival. If cancer cells could think, they would realize that the only rational solution would be to stop their proliferation.

The choice is simple. Either we draw the line on our proliferation, or we suffer the effects of the negative feedback which will surely come our way. Gaia is no mere billiard ball. Pump another million tons of carbon into the atmosphere and raising sea levels will do another kind of regulating act. Nothing personal, you understand, just Gaia taking care of her own health. EXIT

Contraceptive pressure gauge



If you were ruler of the world, where would the contraceptive pressure gauge arrow point when you announced your global family planning policy? Each level has pros and cons to consider. Join the fun and add your own.

PRO:		CON:
Neutral pressure. Equalitarian. Birth rate reduced to one half. Child mortality drops dramatically. No enforcement required.	**1. FREEDOM**	Deprives misogynists of enforcing mandatory motherhood. Would not be enough pressure to lower birth rate to equal death rate.
Positive. Optimistic. Minimal cost.	**2. PRAISE**	Condescending. Judgmental
Saves money in long run. Provides alternative to being paid to breed.	**3. BRIBE**	Males' eligibility hard to determine, making it gender biased.
Lets people know that what they're doing is not good for Nature and humanity.	**4. BLAME**	Negative. Pessimistic. Fault-finding.
Costs of increasing population are more justly charged.	**5. FINE**	Collection problems, especially from single men. Rich have more freedom than poor.
Deprivation of right to breed better than sentencing child to life of exploitation, suffering, and early death. Birth rate reduced to below death rate.	**6. FORCE**	Fascistic. Politically unworkable in most regions. Creates other problems, such as infanticide, black-market babies, and genocide.

Today, tragically few areas in the world have reached level one. Regardless of how much pressure we think is needed to improve population density, can we all agree that justice demands freedom as a minimum?

You may already be a VHEMT Volunteer

Although this may be the first you've heard of the voluntary human extinction movement, you may already be a VHEMT Volunteer. With an Earth First! perspective, the decision to make no more of us comes naturally.

In fact, anyone who accepts the facts, and applies an ecocentric morality to their thinking, will eventually reach the conclusion that humans are incompatible with Earth's biosphere and should be phased out.

When Ice Age humans hunted animals to extinction, at least one of the Neanderdunces among them must have grunted in bewildered disapproval.

As the Fertile Crescent became a barren desert, and the Cedars of Lebanon were sacrificed for ships, someone must have thought, "this bodes ill," or words to that effect.

When the Romans created the ever-expanding Sahara by clearcutting forests to fuel their empire, someone must have remarked, "Humanus non gratis." *Someone* had to get the idea that the planet would be better off without this busy horde.

Today the situation is critical on a global scale. As a result, there must be thousands, if not millions, of people around the world whose inate sense of justice has guided them to make the moral choice.

A large portion of today's VHEMT Volunteers were vehement extinctionists before they read *These* EXIT *Times*. Some are Volunteers for humanitarian reasons, some out of ecological considerations, and most are motivated, to some degree, by a combination of concern for both planet and people.

Subscribing to *These* EXIT *Times* isn't necessary, but if you'd like to keep abreast of human extinction issues, simply fill out and mail in the form below. You need not agree to subscribe. EXIT

Handy Volunteer, Supporter, or Subscriber form

- ❑ VHEMT **Volunteer:** "All of us should voluntarily refrain from reproducing, bringing about the eventual extinction of Homo sapiens." Volunteers receive all mailings.
- ❑ VHEMT **Supporter:** "Intentional creation of one more of us by any of us is unjustifiable at this time, but extinction of our species goes too far." Supporters receive most mailings.
- ❑ *These* EXIT *Times* **Subscriber:** "Just send the newsletter and stop trying to put words in my mouth."

Send me T.E.T. ❑ No. 1: SASE ❑ No. 2: $1 ❑ No. 4: $1 ❑ 8 copies of this edition: $1 ❑ Booth kit: $20

Name _____ e-mail _____

Address _____

City _____ State/Prov. _____ Code _____

Please mail to: *These* EXIT *Times* PO Box 86646 Portland OR 97286-0646 NA

Sex • Sex • Sex

Sex is the way most babies are started, but is sexual intercourse *really* the primary cause of human reproduction? Let's consider the statistics:

The World Health Organization estimates that 100 million couples engage in sexual intercourse on an average day, which is only 3.6% of the world's 5.6 billion humans. This pitifully low figure results in around 910,000 pregnancies. For a variety of reasons, 55% of these zygotes don't make it through fetushood to live birth. According to a current Population Reference Bureau estimate, 385,679 do make it daily.

So, less than 0.4% of each day's heterosexual trysts result in the creation of new humans — a statistically insignificant correlation for proving causation.

Try it for yourself. Estimate how many times you've engaged in sexual activity in your lifetime. Now estimate how many times you were trying to make a baby. Divide the little number by the big number to give you the percent of times sex and procreation have simultaneously motivated you.

Perhaps if there were more opportunities for sexual gratification, so many people wouldn't feel the need to fill a nagging emptiness with a needy dependent. EXIT

Earn Big Fun in Your Spare Time

These EXIT *Times* provides technical support for those who wish to share the VHEMT concept at environmental events such as Earth Day. A basic Volunteers' Booth Kit includes an inventory and helpful hints for a good time. See form at left to order.

Dear Miss Demeanor

Advice for the Ecologically Confused

Dear Miss Demeanor:

What the hell do I do about this? My dentist yanked out my wisdom teeth and gave me some antibiotics for the resulting infection. And so my quandary—do I take the antibiotics and selectively kill the weaker microorganisms, thereby helping create a race of superbugs that will ultimately destroy a huge percentage of the human population? Or do I suffer through the infection and avoid the selective strengthening of the micros, thus allowing the human population to ultimately grow even further?

—Anonymous

P.S. Garlic doesn't work.

Dear Infected One:

Well, dearie, I don't mean to belabor details, but I doubt that gum disease will lead to the extinction of much of the human population. Moreover, you are already guilty of decimating these microscopic life forms, since you kill a multitude of bacteria every time you wash your hands (assuming you have good hygiene).

My specialty is advice for the ecologically confused, not the medically confused, so I dare not advise you about your medical condition. However, I do strongly encourage you to pursue your avid interest in population reduction, as enthusiastically and creatively as possible.

I highly recommend my personal favorite activities to undermine the distasteful growth of the population—engaging in sex with oneself, someone of one's own gender, or someone of the opposite gender while diligently using birth control. These are truly delightful ways to subvert the dominant paradigm.

Miss Demeanor responds to actual letters from readers. Write to: Dear Miss Demeanor, Earth First! Journal, PO Box 1415, Eugene, OR 97440.

Eco-Terrorists Out to Save Earth At Any Cost

by Russ T. McCullough

A recent study by a completely impartial forest products industry research group blames environmental extremism, such as the malicious campaign to save the northern spotted owl, for the loss of thousands of northwest timber jobs over the last fifteen years.

In what can only be described as a cynical abuse of the Endangered Species Act, environmentalists have used it to save the threatened owl from extinction (thus far, anyway!).

This blatant disregard for business priorities has resulted in the almost total destruction of the Pacific Northwest economy!

Axel Hackett, chairman of the Committee For the Protection Of An Abundant Environment, a worthwhile environmental organization, in a prepared statement to a completely spontaneous rally at the Boise-Pacific plywood mill in Stumpdale said, "Who do these bleeding-heart do-gooders think they are, getting involved in these critical issues? There ought to be a law against that kind of irresponsible extremist activism!"

Speaking in front of a huge banner proclaiming Boise-Pacific planted over a million trees last year, Mr. Hackett went on to blast environmentalists for "unfair" statements that the timber industry uses environmentalism as a scapegoat for its own disastrous management practices, including wasteful overcutting at non-sustainable rates, failure to replant many public lands, wage and benefit rollbacks, massive air and water pollution, devastation of northwest fisheries and give-away raw log exports for as little as one dollar a log.

Announcing:

POST-APOCALYPTIC NEO-CENOZOIC ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS FROM HELL

No fucking compromise, even following the extinction of *Homo shiticus*, the only mammalian species of truly non-essential, experimental status. Plan for this celestial campaign and victory party *now*, before you're too scattered about to collect your thoughts.

When: Next era, one million and one years hence, 26 June-5 July.

Where: 925 feet under the most biodiverse region of the time, where Moscow, Idaho, now stands.

Traditional Events:

*Daily mourning circles.

*Geo-regional roundup (news from the layers); igneous issues, sedimentary strategies, metamorphic reports.

*Journal meeting: hours wailing over content policy, responsible journalism and transparent editors, ghost-writing, and "do we hafta print everything submitted?"

*Council of Dead Beings.

*Tribal Seance, including revelry around cremation fires, corpse shots, moon moaning, and dancing on the ruins of multinational corp(se)erations.

*Weekend rot Rally (featuring the Grateful Dead and the Velcro Dead Sheep)!, followed by an inAction (to be planned).

Workshops:

*Forest Service Funeral Service—how we pulled the plug on a vegetable agency.

*Preserving genetic diversity of populations not yet evolved.

*Lesbian Mt. Graham Red Squirrels' Better Sex Workshop, (to be held on the Pope's bosom) with a pre-seminar on capturing and subduing his ghost with extraterrestrial dental dams.

*Reincarnation travel tips: Who to be or not to be.

*Haunt a graveyard for Jesus and make a general nuisance of yourself when canvassing in heaven.

*Women's Corpse Caucus: Equal pay for equal decay.

*Exhuming landrapers for phantom phamily phun.

*How to stay buried: stumping future archaeologists.

*How to haunt dead politicos, corpse exec's, etc.

*How to participate in every campaign simultaneously without spreading yourself too thin.

*Out-of-work: Group therapy for activists.

*Reduce, re-use, recycle: Whole body composting.

*What do we do with all the dead Freddies in the middle of the clearcuts?

*Eco-poltergeist chain-rattling workshop.

*Safe sex six feet under, featuring: 1) diseases? fuck you ha ha ha; 2) men with vasectomies are still our favorites; 3) sex without genitalia and the non-monogamous relationship.

*Coffin-busting campaign organized by Formaldehyde Detox Anonymous.

*Lo-bagging yer way to heaven.

*How to ditch those pesky New Age twinkly spirits.

*How to come back as a dead vivisector's worst nightmare (rated R).

*Infiltration of FBI agent carcasses, molecule by molecule.

*Do-it-yourself topsoil replacement and soil nutrient fortification.

*Maintaining a positive self image without one.

*Cockroach caucus: meeting their demands.

*How to stop developers from building in hell.

Victories:

*Zero Population Growth: It worked!

*Industrial collapse: Actualized!

*Carmaggedon: It worked!

*Cattle-free for the rest of history!

*No more clearcuts!

*Glen Canyon Damn blah blah blah, etc.

Pets: all dead pets welcome.

Fee: None!, for the first time in RRR history. But please do buy a "Hayduke is Dead" t-shirt in advance.

Contacts: (via telepathy) Wraithwalker and S. R. Doppelgänger.

Celebrate Earth Day, Corporate Style

On the DC Mall with Dow, DuPont

BY ROB INERFELD AND JOHN BOWLING

Break out those noise makers, dust off them grim reaper costumes, and slap together some big ol' banners, we're gonna have a party!

This year it will be our great pleasure to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Earth Day 1970. Joining us will be some of our nicest, most environmentally conscious friends at DuPont, Dow Chemical, Texaco, and the American Forestry Association. In fact, as part of the EarthCare '95 Exposition, April 20-23, on the Mall (Our Mall!) in Washington DC, America's biggest polluters will be claiming that they are protecting the environment!

What began in 1970 as a national day of political action and celebration for nature has been perverted. Earth Day has become nothing more than a slick public relations event for the world's greediest and most destructive corporations. What has enabled corporations to greenwash Earth Day is perhaps more arresting: so called environmentalists that invite industrial polluters to sponsor and attend their Earth Day events.

The 1990 twentieth anniversary event in DC included exhibitors such as Dow Chemical, DuPont, the Chemical Manufacturers Association, the American Mining Congress, Waste Management Inc., the American Forestry Association, the American Petroleum Institute, McDonald's, Ford Motor Co., Shell Oil, and numerous other corporate and wise-use front groups. This year's event promises to be just as troubling.

The marketing materials published by National Trade Productions, Inc. (NTP), the DC event organizer, claim that "it's a public relations and marketing bonanza." And that, "by participating in EarthCare '95 Exposition, you will be intrinsically involved with one of the industry's largest environmental events—on the Mall in Washington—spotlighting your technology among the industry's most powerful earth-movers and earth-shakers." NTP calls the Exposition "a marketing event that is truly made to order... expected to be the largest, most exciting environmental celebration ever... projected to draw over 150,000 people, including industry leaders, top government officials, the national and international media, and thousands of consumers." The materials contain endorsements from former US Senator Gaylord Nelson, Vice President Al Gore, Undersecretary for Global Affairs Timothy Wirth, and Glynn Young, the public affairs director for the Monsanto Chemical Company, who says "the fact of the matter is that Earth Day is the best way to get news coverage."

The National Park Service has rented out a large swath of the Mall to NTP to host this extravaganza, yet they are unable to answer questions about how citizens groups can participate in Earth Day events there. Besides, what grassroots organizations can afford the $25-per-square-foot fee to have a booth at EarthCare '95?

The corporate take-over of Earth Day is just another tool that corporations are using to subvert our democracy and mislead the public into thinking that the multinational beasts are leading the way to sustainability. These corporations greenwash 365 days a year with well-financed media campaigns in which we have no control over what they say and little opportunity to respond. Earth Day events will be unfolding in public spaces across the United States this April. Activists need to organize demonstrations, "truth brigades," or other creative actions at these events to reveal to the public what these corporations really stand for: profits at any expense. This Earth Day we must challenge these corporations' claims of sustainability and show how they are destroying the environment—educating people about what actions they can take to reassert the rights of citizens over corporations.

The Emergency Campus Environmental Conference, February 24-26 at the University of Pennsylvania, has been called so that hundreds of students and community activists can join forces in taking back Earth Day. The conference's speakers, seminars and workshops also will work to develop strategies to stop Newt Gingrich's congressional attacks on the environment.

The EarthCare '95 Exposition will take place on the DC Mall from April 20-23. The American Chemical Society will be there. Will you?

Random thoughts, action ideas, and questions about the Emergency Campus Environmental Conference or Earth Day should be directed to the Free the Planet Campaign, 116 New Montgomery St., #530, San Francisco, CA 94105, phone (415) 495-5987. For information on corporate accountability strategies, call the Legal Analysis and Action Project on Corporations, P.O. Box 806, Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 628-6938.

ESA Takes a Licking...

continued from the front page

NCCP can be loosely compared to the HCP model, the major distinction being that NCCP deals with entire ecosystems, rather than individual species. The theory is that by protecting the entire ecosystem, ESA listings can be avoided, thus avoiding the "economic train wrecks" that listings supposedly represent. Further, the NCCP process relies on what is euphemistically termed a "cooperative" approach, meaning that it is completely voluntary, with no agreements binding participating developers.

While certainly a quaint idea, the reality of NCCP is grim indeed. The most advanced plan so far, which deals with central Orange County, shows a reserve that incorporates only 46 percent of the area's existing sage scrub. A six-lane tollroad and numerous development blocks (of the 10,000+ unit variety) futher destroy any semblance of a coherent, scientifically based reserve design. But it gets worse—as outlined in Babbitt's no surprises policy, no further conservation measures will be asked of participating landowners. The reserve design, although supposedly based on the needs of the ecosystem, instead preserves habitat only around the California gnatcatcher, the federally listed species that is the regulatory nexus of the program. The rest of the hundred-plus endangered species found in the sage scrub are left with no recourse for protection—and a shoddy reserve design to depend on for survival.

The most pernicious aspect of the NCCP program, however, is the dangerous precedent it sets. The NCCP places decision-making authority in the hands of local governments, with FWS relegated to an advisory role. This probably goes without saying, but trusting developer-controlled governments to make wise decisions seems a little foolish.

Word from those intimately involved with the NCCP program is that the Clinton Administration is rushing to complete the NCCP program in southern California, in order to hold it up as a success story. The developer-inspired NCCP, while vociferously opposed by many local enviros as unworkable, is being hailed by the national environmental groups as visionary. In the words of one local biologist, praising the NCCP is like "eviscerating a body and holding up its heart as healthy for transplant."

Of course, when faced with Gingrich and Co., it's easy to see why the administration's plans are palatable to the national groups. On the one hand, the Contract on America would undermine environmental legislation through unfunded mandates, regulatory takings, etc.

On the other hand are the extremist extractionists, who seek a radical reworking if not a total overthrow of the ESA and other environmental regulations. Take Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska), the new chairman of the Natural Resources Committee, which will oversee the reauthorization of the ESA. Don wants to return the ESA to its original intent, which, in his words was "[to try] to protect, you know, pigeons and things like that. We never thought about mussels and ferns and flowers and all these... subspecies of squirrels and birds." Part of his proposal calls for increased scientific review, which sounds fine until he reveals that this review would be from the private sector (i.e. industrial fiat).

So what has been the nationals' response to the Republicrat threat? A massive media campaign to expose the threats? A passionate defense of the natural world? No. After all this time, after Option 9, after grazing reform collapse, after no mining reform, the nationals are *still* playing the defensive game. The National Wildlife Federation is openly endorsing a regional HCP approach (a la NCCP). When asked about its support of a method that has *never* resulted in the recovery of a species (a model that has brought many of the species it was intended to protect to the brink of oblivion) a NWF staffer replied "we know the HCP model has its problems, but were going with it"

"It is a matter of political reality," continued the beltway bureaucrat. "HCPs are the best we can hope for given the present political climate."

The Endangered Species Act Coalition, which claims grassroots representation but whose steering committee is composed entirely of corporate environmentalists, has stated similarly that it will not even introduce ESA legislation. Instead, it will focus on defending the failed status quo.

The present scene has some strange parallels to previous reauthorization battles. In 1982, when the ESA was last up for reauthorization, the building industry—with the brilliant legal representation of Robert Thornton and Lindell Marsh—forced passage of the Section 10(a) amendments which legislated the HCP process. The legislation was based on the prototypical San Bruno Mountain HCP. (This HCP, designed to protect the mission blue and San Bruno elfin butterflies, is leading the ill-fated lepidoptera toward oblivion because promised mitigation has never materialized, and the plan itself was based on unsound science.) The nationals' excuse for capitulation at the time: the hostile political climate of the Reagan revolution.

The present year sees Newt and company providing the nationals' view of political reality. The prototype is now the NCCP, and the cast of players is amazingly consistent with those of 1982. Thornton and Marsh are, once again, the prime architects, both having been instrumental in securing the language used in the plan. (Thornton is also lead attorney for the Transportation Corridor Agencies, in charge of building Orange county's nefarious tollroads, and the Irvine Co. Both would be adversely affected by viable habitat protection measures.) The above-mentioned proposed HCP guidelines are taken almost verbatim from testimony Marsh provided at a Senate Committee hearing on the ESA in July 1994.

It looks like the best we can hope for is that reauthorization will be postponed for a third straight year. Once again self-imposed limitations have replaced any sense of moral obligation, and we spiral toward the ecoholocaust.

So things really haven't changed. The ravaged land is in a more desperate condition, having seen twelve more years under the industrial boot. Ironically, despite the proclamations of the nationals, polling data shows a strong consensus in favor of wildlife protection; in fact, public opinion is far more progressive

After the Fall

by Phil Nanas

We lost! Some would claim victory, while others remain silent, but the fact is that we lost. On December 21, 1994, Judge Dwyer upheld "Option 9," although he indicated that it barely complied with federal environmental laws.

The problem in the ancient forests is three-fold. There's the regular timber program that continued right through the old owl injunction and continues today. Only some old-growth forest, those considered by scientific definition spotted owl habitat, were off limits. Then there are timber sales in owl habitat that include those released from the old injunction by the majority of "environmental" plaintiffs in what has come to be known as the "Deal of Shame." And then there are the dreaded "Section 318" timber sales that still haunt us. To put it in the words of a US Fish and Wildlife biologist: "Its a full on blitzkrieg for the very last crumbs of the old-growth cookie" (see Life Under Option 9 in Samhain, 1994 EF! *Journal* for more information).

Regular federal timber program aside, the timber sales proceeding in owl habitat in compliance with "Option 9" are a crime. Its too bad they are now legal. So far only the Native Forest Council has filed to appeal Judge Dwyer's decision to the Ninth Circuit but rumor has it the Forest Conservation Council is soon to follow.

The crisis in our northwest forests is the result of sufficiency riders which continue to be a threat. A rider can be tagged onto an appropriations bill speeding through congress. They provide sufficiency language that says an action is sufficient in complying with the law. It makes the action exempt from all applicable laws by eliminating administrative and judicial review. You can't sue. Oregon's senior Senator Mark Hatfield is the sufficiency master and he is now the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. The next few years should be quite a ride, pardon the pun, but please join us.

The "Section 318" sales serve as a reminder of how horrible these "riders" can be. The Sugarloaf Timber Sale which has received much press is only one of 102 such timber sales totaling 407 million board feet of the biggest and most precious of the fragmented remains of what was once an old-growth ecosystem. Due to the sufficiency rider the only thing standing between the saws and these giant trees is political pressure, and perhaps you.

Eighty-eight of these sales—232 million board feet—are in Late-Successional Reserves in Clinton's phony plan. Seventy-six of these sales are the subject of a jeopardy determination by U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service regarding marbled murrelets. The Endangered Species Act would not allow these sales to be cut if it weren't for "Section 318". So they are still under the long-term threat of the saw. Politics is the only thing holding these trees up. If the murrelet biologists went public with their dissension on "Option 9", and its process, it would never have been deemed legal. Hopefully the appeals of Option 9, and the threat of bringing these biologists to testify in court, will keep them standing.

photo by Public Forestry Foundation

Watchdog Timber Sale, Umpqua National Forest; one of the first released under Option 9.

A more immediate threat faces the 14 "318 sales" that were either withdrawn from formal consultation or allowed to proceed with a letter of concurrence of "not likely to adversely affect" the marbled murrelet. Twelve of these "318 sales" were given a no jeopardy determination by U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and could proceed at any time. The grand total is that over 119 million board feet of prime old-growth in immediate danger. Nearly 30 million board feet will be logged from Late-Successional Reserves which are supposed to be protected by Clinton's Plan.

This article represents the views of Phil Nanas and not necessarily those of the Native Forest Council for which he works. Please contact NFC for more information or to lend support. NFC, PO Box 2171, Eugene, OR, phone (503) 688-2600, fax (503) 461-2156.

than corporate environmental policy.

At a luncheon Babbitt appeared at last year to promote the NCCP program, I had a conversation with one Jim Whalen of the Alliance for Habitat Conservation, a building-industry front group. I asked Whalen why enviros should support NCCP since it was not adhering to its scientific guidelines. His reply was as instructive as it was frank. "Craig, this is not about science, its about politics. The building industry is going to fight for every acre it can get." Thinking about it later, I couldn't help but wonder if the reason the environmental movement seemed to be faring so badly was not just funding or access or power. Perhaps it had something to do with attitude. Maybe Boise-Cascade wants logs more than we want trees. Maybe the Irvine Co. wants suburbs more than we want gnatcatchers.

The cliche image of Earth First!'s role in the environmental movement is that of moderating the image of the national groups, so that their positions will be more politically palatable. The time for that role has passed; this late in the game there is no more room for moderation, for compromise, by the nationals. The legislation of extinction may be politically expedient, but it will never be moral. It is time to regain the high ground, and ultimately the only ethical position is one that advocates a complete flourishing of all life. Anything else is tragedy.

What you can do:

1) Get involved in the ESA/HCP Network. Call (909) 338-5856 or write the Spirit of the Sage Council at PO Box 77027-102, Pasadena, CA 91107.

2) Write the nationals and your Congressional Reps and encourage them to take an uncompromising stand in defense of the "real world." Ask your Rep. to demand that Bruce Babbitt resign, for failure to enforce the ESA.

* (t) re. structures + #s.

Losing It at the Courthouse

continued from page 6

forests and grasslands. Instead of lamenting the impending evisceration of the ESA, environmentalists should be telling people that this hallowed law is already dead and any further tampering with it would simply amount to corpse abuse. We need laws that actually protect land, not abstract symbols that merely set forth complex procedures to assure extinction take place in an orderly fashion.

In eastern Washington, a federal judge overturned the preliminary injunction against the atrocious Cove/Mallard timber sales on the Nez Perce National Forest in central Idaho with a decision that turns the National Environmental Policy Act on its head. The judge, who relied only on the Forest Service's highly distorted version of the facts in the case, said it was not up to the Forest Service to prove that their logging plans *didn't* harm salmon. Now the last line of defense of this huge roadless area in the Salmon Selway complex will once again be human bodies braced against bulldozers — just the way Larry Craig likes it.

Meanwhile, a federal appeals court in Dallas showed the National Forest Management Act to be little more than a discretionary sieve, when it struck down a landmark injunction rendered by a district court halting even-age management on national forests in Texas. The appeals court ruled that NFMA's requirement that clearcutting be proved to be the "optimum" harvest method is neither binding nor enforceable — that essentially Forest Service managers have wide latitude to prescribe whatever silvicultural treatment they want regardless of the law or the intent of congress and little or no obligation to justify their choice to the public.

Finally, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed a challenge of the contorted Ouachita National Forest Plan by ruling that environmentalists lacked standing to sue the government over forest plan decisions. The court said forest plans do not make decisions that "harm" the interests of environmentalists; therefore, enviros have no right to challenge the plans in federal court. Fearful of establishing a lethal precedent, the environmentalists who brought this suit decided not to appeal.

Taken alone any of these decisions is devastating to the interests of environmentalists; together they represent a death-knell for the lobby-litigate-appeal strategy that has dominated public lands environmentalism for the past decade. How we emerge from this debris in an era of extreme political turbulence will determine the long-term future of the forest protection movement.

Tiny Solidarities

As a new Dark Ages descends over the Republic, where do environmentalists of conscience turn for solace and sustenance? Where do we find the antidote to the coming absolutism? I was thinking about these questions on a dreary Oregon afternoon when I came across an extraordinary passage in a book called *The View From Afar* by the great French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. Levi-Strauss, who spent several years in the Northwest and Alaska studying the myths and art of the Tlingit, Haida, and other coastal tribes, argues compellingly in an essay titled "Reflections on Liberty" that the best way to resist despotism (and is there anyone left who doesn't see that as the precise agenda of Newt & Co.?) is through a "multitude of small bands, of tiny solidarities that prevent the individual from being ground down by the overall society and the latter from being pulverized into anonymous and interchangeable atoms. These links integrate each person into a mode of life, a home ground, a tradition, a form of belief or of unbelief, which not only balance one another like Montesquieu's separate powers, but constitute so many counter forces capable of acting together against the abuses of political power."

The answer, then, is that there is no one answer to our predicament. The centralized, passionless, and monolithic approach to environmentalism, which lulled itself into a passive instrument of government authority, has crashed and burned. Yet as we extract ourselves from this wreckage, we must resist the temptation to impose ideological litmus tests or loyalty oaths to define who is or isn't a *real* environmentalist. Instead our very survival may well depend on our diversity; eccentricity and eclecticism may be our last hope. The new counterattack must be engaged from a multitude of new and often oblique angles. This kind of radical innovation only comes from groups given the freedom to evolve from the ground up. We face a common enemy: the private looting of public assets. This national battle can best be fought by a loose federation of groups and activists, drawing on shared pools of knowledge and experience, speaking out in an affirmative voice, radiant with possibilities. In this way, the return of *deja voodoo* economics can augur the end of trickle-down environmentalism.

Alliances...

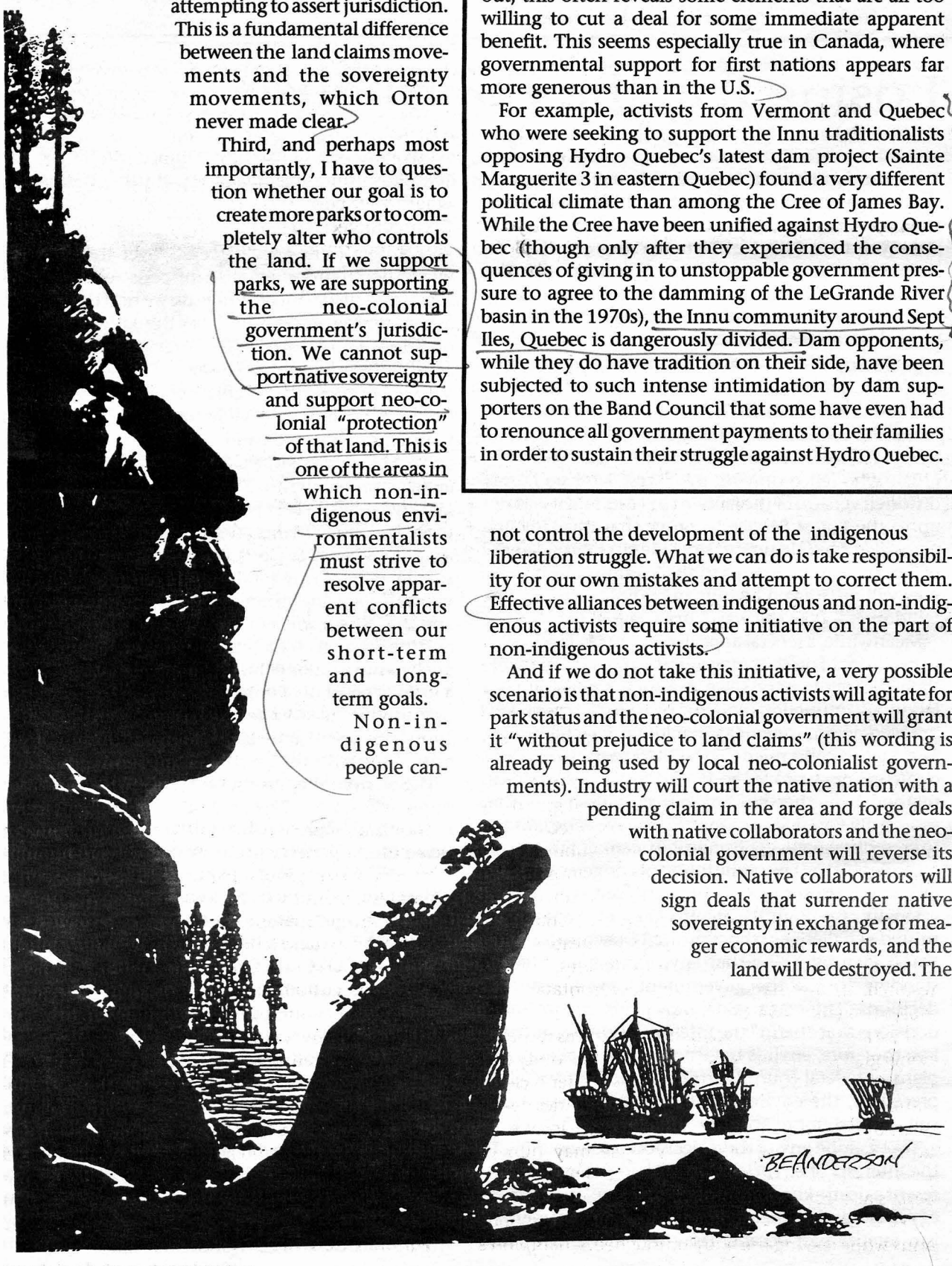
Continued from page 3

Orton states that "the abysmal economic situation of most native peoples in Canada undermines environmental/First Nations solidarity on environmental issues," but he never looks at why some native people support development/destruction. He ignores the devastating effects colonialism has had on native nations' economies, cultures, social structures, etc. We need to look at these things because we must grapple with the peoples' immediate needs if we are to offer an alternative . Such needs drive people to take steps for survival. And this in turn affects the land we are trying to protect.

Orton warns us that "[native] land claims will and are affecting the establishment of new protected areas and parks—and also the Endangered Spaces Campaign, initiated by World Wildlife Fund Canada, which has been endorsed by many environmental groups." He then states that "the corporate class in Canada well understands the ongoing changes in land and water use in favor of aboriginal peoples in Canada."

First, I believe this presents a distorted view of the current situation in "Canada." Where are the changes in land and water use favoring aboriginal peoples? Who, beyond a small class of collaborators, is profiting from industrial destruction of native lands?

Second, the use of the term "land claim" presumes that indigenous nations surrendered their jurisdiction and are now "claiming" it back. Sovereign nations have not requested that their sovereignty be returned—they have asserted their sovereignty and jurisdiction where the neo-colonial government is attempting to assert jurisdiction. This is a fundamental difference between the land claims movements and the sovereignty movements, which Orton never made clear.



Third, and perhaps most importantly, I have to question whether our goal is to create more parks or to completely alter who controls the land. If we support parks, we are supporting the neo-colonial government's jurisdiction. We cannot support native sovereignty and support neo-colonial "protection" of that land. This is one of the areas in which non-indigenous environmentalists must strive to resolve apparent conflicts between our short-term and long-term goals.

Non-indigenous people cannot control the development of the indigenous liberation struggle. What we can do is take responsibility for our own mistakes and attempt to correct them. Effective alliances between indigenous and non-indigenous activists require some initiative on the part of non-indigenous activists.

And if we do not take this initiative, a very possible scenario is that non-indigenous activists will agitate for park status and the neo-colonial government will grant it "without prejudice to land claims" (this wording is already being used by local neo-colonialist governments). Industry will court the native nation with a pending claim in the area and forge deals with native collaborators and the neo-colonial government will reverse its decision. Native collaborators will sign deals that surrender native sovereignty in exchange for meager economic rewards, and the land will be destroyed. The colonial governments can then say "it's not us, it's those native people." Many non-indigenous activists will blame native nations and pull support for sovereignty, and budding alliances will collapse. Meanwhile most native people will be exactly where they are now, in abject poverty, but with no legal basis for sovereignty over their territories.

We are already seeing versions of this scenario unfold in places like Clayoquot Sound. In order to halt this trend, we, as non-indigenous environmental activists, must start seriously rethinking our relationship to native struggles.

Orton's article did much to shed light on how far the environmental movement has to go to throw off the limitations of neo-colonial thinking, and little to provide insight on how non-indigenous people can work towards stronger alliances with indigenous people. What we need are ideas on how to move forward. And let's not forget that unless indigenous people are participating in this discussion, we will never move beyond theory.

For more information about BC native sovereignty, contact: Independent State of Qwa-Ba-Diwa Information Office (Canada): PO Box 35015, Victoria, BC, Canada V8T 5G2; or Lil'wat Peoples Movement: PO Box 79, Mount Currie, BC, Canada V0N 2K0

Respect Native Struggles

BY BRIAN TOKAR

David Orton has done a valuable service by raising the question of relationships between environmentalists and native peoples. However, his account unfortunately perpetuates some of the same myths and mystifications about indigenous communities that he says he is trying to deflate.

Everyone who has tried to work with indigenous communities on environmental (or any other) issues knows that the social fabric of these communities is as complex and at least as delicate as that of any other communities facing the political and economic onslaughts of these times. Native communities rarely speak with "one voice" these days, any more than Euro-American communities speak with one voice. Further, native communities are plagued by all of the problems facing other poor and marginalized groups. When the promise of land and material wealth is held in front of such communities, it exaggerates existing insecurities and tensions in ways that governments and corporations have become quite adept at manipulating for their own purposes.

From the Big Mountain struggles, which aroused widespread support from non-native people in the mid-1980s, to mining, logging, nuclear waste and land-claims issues today, activists rushing to support native struggles have had to take a step back and become educated about the politics and internal dynamics of indigenous communities. As Orton pointed out, this often reveals some elements that are all too willing to cut a deal for some immediate apparent benefit. This seems especially true in Canada, where governmental support for first nations appears far more generous than in the U.S.

For example, activists from Vermont and Quebec who were seeking to support the Innu traditionalists opposing Hydro Quebec's latest dam project (Sainte Marguerite 3 in eastern Quebec) found a very different political climate than among the Cree of James Bay. While the Cree have been unified against Hydro Quebec (though only after they experienced the consequences of giving in to unstoppable government pressure to agree to the damming of the LeGrande River basin in the 1970s), the Innu community around Sept Iles, Quebec is dangerously divided. Dam opponents, while they do have tradition on their side, have been subjected to such intense intimidation by dam supporters on the Band Council that some have even had to renounce all government payments to their families in order to sustain their struggle against Hydro Quebec. This is a source of tremendous hardship for people who have become increasingly dependent on such payments.

However, for Euro-American activists to expect native peoples to simply renounce government payments, income from trapping, or any of their other tenuous connections to the cash economy, is even more unrealistic than expecting urban North Americans to instantly stop using petroleum and electricity immediately, tomorrow, without delay. Given these communities' tenuous positions, with many families hovering at the edge of survival, it is extremely condescending to expect them to suddenly undo 400 years of being forced into the market economy.

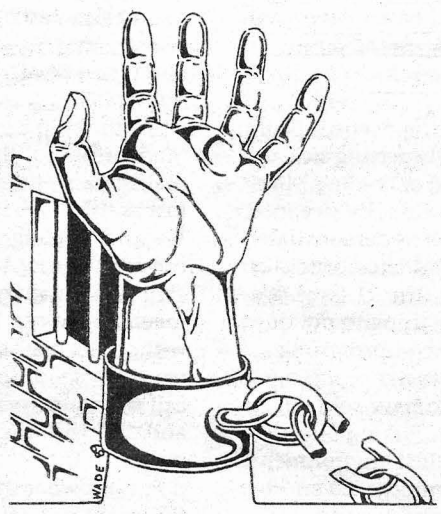
Does this justify the sometime complicity of native communities in the destruction of the environment? Of course not. But it means that activists need to listen to what native people are saying about their own situation and act from a place of respect and consideration, not objectification or passing judgment. Native people are neither "model environmentalists," nor are they blind participants in environmental destruction. They deserve due consideration for bearing the weight of 500 years of colonialism, but cannot and do not want to be judged as historical symbols. Native people need to be approached with respect, just as we would approach anyone we seek possible common ground with. Native people fighting to protect the land, such as the Cree, the Innu dissidents, the Chippewa opponents of mining in Wisconsin, the Cahuilla people blockading toxic sludge shipments in southern California and countless others need to be supported. Those who make compromises with the system, often under conditions of extreme coercion, need to be approached cautiously and with understanding of their own often precarious situation.

Native nations are on the leading edge of environmental battles in many places in North America. Indigenous "sovereignty" is being cynically invoked by corporations and governments to maneuver around regulations that would prohibit environmentally destructive forms of development elsewhere. Some members of native communities are willingly going along, sometimes even believing that they are acting in the tradition of defiance that has kept their people alive for centuries. If we want to help native environmentalists win these battles, the first step is to approach these situations with a genuine sense of understanding and, yes, respect.

JAILED

Darren Thurston Finally Free!

Canadian activist Darren Thurston has finally been released from the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Facility after serving 23 months in three different facilities. His incarceration stemmed from charges related to ALF raids in 1991-92. The raids at the University of Alberta and the Billingsgate Fish Company brought the Michigan State Police, FBI, and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to Canada to give evidence and investigate the incidents. Of the three individuals charged, Darren served the most time.



Originally, nine charges were pressed against Darren. He eventually pleaded guilty to arson, breaking and entering and theft, and was sentenced to pay a hefty restitution as part of the plea bargain. At the time he had already served fifteen months in the Edmonton Remand Center, without a trial. Throughout his pretrial and motion proceedings it was obvious that the government was going to use this as a precedent-setting case, making Darren look like a crazed terrorist and portraying his actions as the first ALF activity in Canada.

When Darren was first released in October, the Crown Council did not include sentencing as a part of the plea bargain. This meant that they had an opportunity to appeal his release. Guess what they did?

After nearly eight months of freedom, Darren's attorney informed him that the prosecution had successfully appealed his plea bargain and he would be taken back into custody the next day. On May 10, 1994, Darren was sent to a facility in Calgary, Alberta. A few days before Darren was sent back to serve out his sentence, David Barbarash was apprehended in California and extradited on similar charges. He later spent five months in Edmonton Remand before also plea bargaining. It seemed that the madness would never end.

In December, Darren's application for "temporary absence" (a conditional release) was heard, but the board decided to wait until January 1995 to decide. Before the temporary absence could be granted, the other side's attorneys had to agree to the conditions. The situation was promising but Darren had been denied before.

On Thursday, January 19, Darren got the good news: he had been granted temporary absence. At 7:30 am the following day, Darren got his first taste of freedom in eight months.

Although Darren is under house arrest and must be home from 6pm to 6am, he is nonetheless happy to be out... for good. He will be staying with his family in Edmonton, a condition he also agreed to. His probation will be over in early September, and he hopes the house arrest will only be imposed for a few months.

With all the time he has spent in jail, Darren has really taken a liking to getting mail, and he wants to keep in touch. With that in mind, here is a new (not-in-the-slammer) address if you would like to keep in contact or just say, "Hey, it is about !*@#* time you were out here with us!" Darren Thurston, PO Box 75029 Ritchie Postal Outlet, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6E 1Z3.

It's good to have you back, Darren!

Support Mark Davis

Mark Davis, the last member of the Arizona Five still in jail, is now in his fourth year as a federal prisoner.

During his incarceration at a facility in the Mojave Desert, Mark consistently has been harrassed by the Injustice System. He was twice denied parole illegally. According to federal sentencing regulations, he should have been allowed to complete the final six months of his sentence in a halfway house in his home community of Prescott, Arizona, in January. Instead, he has been given only two months, scheduled to begin in mid-April. When Mark challenged this decision, he was told he was granted only two months because of his "high-publicity profile." Never mind that well-known embezzlers such as Jim Bakker and Michael Milken got to spend six months in halfway houses.

Completing his sentence in a halfway house would allow Mark to see his two teenage daughters and seek work in Prescott. Although he is likely to be released as scheduled, other prisoners at his facility faced new charges just as they were about to be released. Mark is understandably fearful that this could happen to him.

Letters of support make a huge difference. A group of activists in the Pacific northwest recently sent Mark a poster-size letter. Afterward, he wrote to a friend, "Today was cold and actually, unbelievably, FOGGY! Which is unprecedented in my experience here and would have been a nice change except that of course the guards decided that the fog was a security risk and closed the compound down, meaning that we spent all day in our rooms. Sort of a downer—but then there was mail call in the afternoon, and that wonderful big letter. Made me feel *so* much better immediately."

Mark makes a point to reply to everyone who writes. He appreciates drawings and photos, but be aware that prison rules prohibit padded envelopes. Mark's address is listed in the directory (last page of the *Journal*).

Champion Ravages Nation

Champion International, the giant clearcutting, chlorine-bleaching, dioxin-producing paper company, is destroying human, plant and animal communities across the country.

In Montana, Champion clearcut over 800,000 acres of forest in 10 years and then sold out, leaving behind ruined economies and forests. In North Carolina, Champion polluted the Pigeon River and downstream Tennessee communities for 85 years and continues to pollute with the help of a Clean Water Act variance. In Maine, Champion unsustainably "harvested" hundreds of thousands of acres of forest, polluted Penobscot Bay, and contributed to the decline of the lobster and fishing industry. Now the corporation wants the state to dredge the same ruined bay to ship raw chips and whole logs to foreign ports. In Florida and Alabama, Champion is being sued for $150 million for its pollution of Perdido Bay and the resultant decline in the fishing industry. And in Texas, Champion has added to the pollution of Galveston Bay, and is being sued by the fishing industry.

Champion has never accepted responsibility for any of these acts or changed its production methods based on complaints. Rather, Champion continues to deforest and pollute while blaming local communities for the damage it has caused.

Champion uses "divide and conquer" tactics to combat people and groups that together could force the corporate giant to stop its destruction. Champion avoids billion-dollar class-action lawsuits by settling with individuals and factions for greatly reduced amounts, and thus is never held responsible for its actions. Champion divides environmental groups by contributing large sums of money to selected groups, making them dependent on corporate funds to support their activities. In return, these compromised groups give Champion awards and endorsements that Champion then uses for public relations. Champion divides communities and people by threatening its critics with worker layoffs and mill closures. This has resulted in intimidation, physical confrontation and violence against whistle blowers.

If we are ever to succeed in destroying this multinational giant, we must first unite. Any community that has been invaded by one of this giant's tentacles is intimately joined to all the other communities devastated by its presence. There are no strictly local solutions; while cutting off one tentacle may hurt or weaken Champion, it will not alter the corporate beast's attitude—and it can just grow a new tentacle.

We cannot continue to pick away at the corporate arms while leaving the body untouched. Champion's body is its corporate headquarters in Stamford, Connecticut—and the body is weak. Champion is living on borrowed time while it waits for an upswing in the economy, increased demand and higher paper prices. If it were not for the money raised by selling its ravaged forestland in the west, Champion would be broke.

Now is the time to strike at this weakness by uniting and putting pressure on those corporations that use and sell Champion's paper to stop supporting Champion's destructive practices. Economics is the only language Champion understands and the only force that can make Champion reform its destructive policies, so BOYCOTT CHAMPION INTERNATIONAL and call its customers to let them know they'll be boycotted too until they stop supporting Champion: *National Geographic* uses Champion paper [(800)-638-4077], Food Lion Grocery Stores uses Champion-produced milk and juice cartons for its store brand products [(800)-210-9569], *Time* is one of Champion's major paper buyers [(800)-843-8463] and Office Depot sells Champion brand paper [(800)-685-8800]. The boycott is supported by Global Sustainability, Native Forest Network Wild Rockies, Katuah Earth First!, Forest Advocates, and TAGER.

For more info, call (615) 562-5934.

LETTERS!

continued from page 3

Dear Earth Friends;

This is in response to Judi Bari's Commentary "the Secret History of Tree Spiking." First let me say that I truly appreciate and applaud Judi's dedication and commitment to all our common goals, she is both a hero and a leader who has already accomplished more than most of us ever will to protect and heal this planet and all its inhabitants. However, and I say this with the utmost respect, on the issue of tree spiking she is dead wrong and dangerously so. I cannot help but feel that Judi's sympathy for Mr. Alexander stems more from the fact that she herself has suffered extremely painful physical injuries and can relate to Mr. Alexander's pain, than from the possibility that those injuries could possibly have been caused by Earth First!ers spiking trees.

I don't believe that any of us truly wants any other beings, human or otherwise, to be injured or killed needlessly; but the fact is that part of life is pain, and yes, sometimes death. I don't want animals murdered for their fur or their tusks or to keep some ancient tradition alive and I don't want to see forests bulldozed and chain sawed to feed xerox machines and put up yet another hundred tract homes. To that end I'm willing to do a little damage to curtail and hopefully stop these activities. If someone is hurt by my doings in this area I'm sympathetic, but not apologetic.

The fact is, that tree spiking is designed to foul and destroy logging equipment, not logging people. Any time a person is injured (and it's extremely seldom) the damage can generally be traced to poor maintenance of machinery and substandard safety equipment and procedures. This is clearly the case in the story that Judi Bari tells and it's a shame that she has chosen to focus on how "awful" it is to spike trees rather than the fact that Mr. Alexander's own company is as much or more to blame for his injuries that any tree spiker.

I don't presume to speak for anyone other than myself, but the reason I was attracted to Earth First! as a group and a movement was because we are based on action. Sometimes it's a little more on the passive side and sometimes its downright offensive, but its all action for a cause that we all believe is right. Whatever happened to "No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth?" Finally, if Judi Bari wishes to take the diplomatic and peace talking track, that's fine, there's certainly times and places where that approach will be effective, but I would ask that she have the courtesy and respect for her fellow Earth First!er not to denounce those who risk their freedom and their lives to accomplish our common goals albeit by different methods.

Sincerely,

—Anthony James May
Somewhere on the Central Coast

Dear Spikes for Brains,

I hear a heart wrenching plea from the Journalistas for suggestions and direction on the Journal. I can't speak for anyone else; but any issue that has Judi Bari and Mike Roselle both sounding off on the same subject, well, it just doesn't get any better than that. The subject of tree spiking rears its pissy little head once again.

Actually, I have no major gripe with Judi's article; nor did I ever have a problem with certain Northwest affinity groups renouncing tree spiking. Since I'm not about to run to the redwoods and help them with their campaign, neither am I going to tell them how they should do it. Let those who ride decide, OK? But what is this about the "Secret" history of tree-spiking. The Cloverdale incident was never a secret—far from it. You've been attacked for renouncing spiking and you want to set the record straight? OK, but I haven't seen any such attacks in the Journal for a long time. Has someone been bothering you through another medium? If not, why the sudden gift of this history lesson?

My take on tree-spiking is this: If it stops the cutting, it's a tactic worth considering. If not, mulch it! Those opposed to spiking always tote out an example or two of failure. Those in favor can point to an apparent success or two. But does anyone really know how many cuts have been stopped because of spiking and how many haven't? I certainly don't. This is the true secret history of tree-spiking which, most likely, no one knows in its entirety. Sad to say, the feds probably have a better grip on this than we do.

On the other hand, Mike Roselle wants us to "Go out and get them suckers; fill 'em full of steel." Why? Because, "This is a jihad, pal. There are no innocent bystanders because, in these desperate hours, bystanders are not innocent!" Oh Mikey, what's the matter? Run out of XTC? To be fair, I'm inclined to agree that there are "too many armchair eco-warriors walking around town in camo." But I've spent some time in the woods, enough to know that even Freddies get out there more often than Cove/Mallard Coalition coordinators.

More to the point, I've participated in the Cove/Mallard campaign and I did so with the understanding that the Ancient Forest Bus Brigade and the Cove/Mallard Coalition had renounced tree-spiking. Probably for the same reason that Judi and friends did: We don't need a repeat of the Cloverdale incident in Elk City. Tell me, do I sense a change of strategy in the air? Post Office Creek and Cove/Mallard are mighty damn close. Are you speaking for the Cove/Mallard Coalition, or did you just forget to take your pills? The injunction's been lifted; looks like we might be out in the woods again. It would be nice to get this cleared up beforehand; don't you think?

So, the Journalistas want feedback. I would call into question the value of all this debating. I'm not saying this from any pedestal; certainly I've added to the dung-heap. If people want this kind of crap, OK. But let's recognize that this is not NEWS; it is Commentary. To be fair, some of Judi's history lessons have been valuable, especially the series on the bombing. That was such a twisted puzzle; and she was the first to lay it all out in a clear and cohesive way — including an unflinching look at her own mistakes. That was a priceless contribution and should be required reading. But this surprise history lesson on a "secret" that was never a secret, well, forgive my lack of tact but I smell bullshit. I would not ask the Journalistas to not print Judi's stuff. But I would ask Judi to please cherish our time as much as we cherish yours, OK?

On the other hand, if anyone is lacking tissue for a genuine issue, I know where you can find a half-page every issue. Mike Roselle is always entertaining. But the man w/out a bioregion sounds more and more like a man with nothing to say and a guaranteed place to say it.

—Matthew Haun

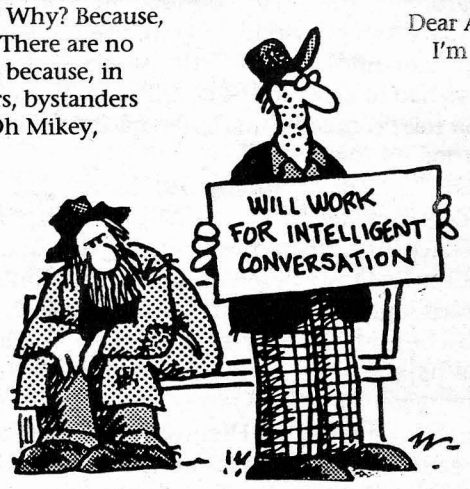
Judi Bari responds:

Dear Anthony and Matthew,

The problem with "The Secret History of Tree Spiking" is that it is only part of my argument, which I continue in this issue, and which answers a point made by both of you. That is that, no, tree spiking does not save trees. I researched every spiking I could find out about (44 of them, I believe), and discovered that, in nearly every case, the trees were cut.

So why should we continue to tar our name and limit our organizing potential for the sake of a failed tactic? A tactic that has indeed endangered workers, that has alienated potential allies, and that has isolated and discredited our movement. The real secret is that tree spiking has already been abandoned by Earth First! And it died of its own weight. The spikers themselves stopped doing it, after taking so much risk and putting out so much effort only to see the trees go down. Mike Roselle acknowledges this in his column when he laments the lack of recent tree spikings, and urges people to go out and do it, even though it won't save the trees.

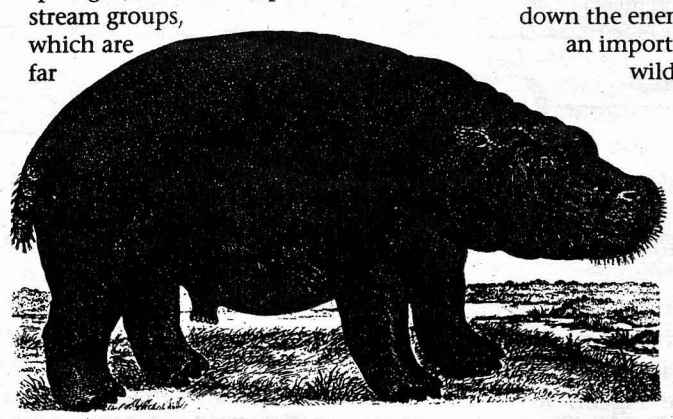
I can't understand that mindset. If we are really interested in stopping the destruction of nature, rather than just spewing anger, we have to choose tactics that are effective in themselves, and/or that advance our organizing. Anything less is way worse than a compromise. It's a total cop out.



Dear Anthropocentric Scum:

I'm really getting sick and tired of reading Mike Roselle's divisive, petty trash as demonstrated by his latest article in the Dec. 21 issue. It's one thing to put down the compromising politician slimebags who have sold out or are working directly against environmental harmony; it's another to attack and unconstructively criticize the mainstream environmental movement and the eocentric *Wild Earth* journal as if they are the enemy.

While it is absolutely legitimate and necessary to criticize the mainstream environmental movement when they compromise on important issues, such as Option 9, it is the height of strategic ignorance to proclaim that the "mainstream environmental groups are quickly becoming irrelevant" so "who needs them?" Earth First! is not and never was meant to be a replacement for the mainstream environmental movement; indeed, it is only a tiny fraction of the movement, albeit an essential part. By itself, Earth First! has relatively little power in directly winning any of the issues it tackles. Instead, it can serve as a catalyst to dramatically put an issue into the media spotlight, from which point the mainstream groups, which are far



larger and more powerful than Earth First!, can win the battle. Mainstream groups are necessary to mobilize the mass public support needed to win most environmental battles—at this stage in history, the radical environmental movement simply does not have the pull to generate the support to win the issues. If you look at Earth First!'s track record, we've won relatively few of our direct action battles where we've fought alone; virtually all of our victories were with the help of the big guns of the mainstream movement. In contrast, the mainstream movement has a much greater ability to win its battles by itself without the help of Earth First! (although EF!'s presence can help to considerably strengthen the movement).

Besides acting like a catalyst to draw initial attention to issues, Earth First! can also serve to strengthen the stance of the mainstream environmental movement and prevent it from straying too far from the ideal, uncompromising stances. EF! does this by taking the hard-line stand, just as the New Conservation Movement groups served by *Wild Earth* do (except they also use the science of conservation biology to further back up their stances), and thus allow more leeway for the mainstream groups to maneuver. And, of course, EF!'s direct actions help to stop or slow down the destruction of wild areas until other strategies , usually those by mainstream groups, actually get the areas protected by legislation. In other words, Earth First! serves to act as a catalyst, to keep the movement's stance as strong as possible, and to directly slow down the destruction, all as a way of strengthening the whole environmental movement—the vast bulk of which is "mainstream." An analogy can be made with that of Paul Watson and his Sea Shepherd ships that ram pirate whalers; the reinforced steel hull of his ship would be Earth First! while the ship itself that carries the momentum for the blow would be the mainstream environmental movement. Just as the Black Panthers and the Weather Underground in the '60's could not exist without the base of the mass civil rights and pacifist anti-war movement, so too can Earth First! not exist without its mainstream roots. In other words, Roselle, don't be naive enough to call the mainstream movement irrelevant and deal with the them the same way you deal with the opposition; its better to point out what they're doing wrong and figure out ways to pull them over.

Now about revolution and monkeywrenching: show me a remotely successful revolution in history that was based primarily on sabotage and I'll retract everything I've written. For someone who's origins are supposedly in the radical Left, you display an incredible ignorance of the strategies of social movements. Revolutions, by necessity, are based upon the mobilization of mass support to seize control of the state apparatus (we can tear it down afterwards); sabotage tied into a central strategy can play a part in this struggle, but monkeywrenching, which is defined to be unorganized and done by autonomous individuals or groups, won't do the trick. A revolutionary movement must be organized and centralized if the opposition is organized and centralized; a loose, unorganized movement projects its force like a hundred non-lethal pin pricks, not concentrated like a dagger that will take down the enemy. Monkeywrenching is an important stalling tactic to protect wilderness, just like direct action civil disobedience, but is not a tool of revolutionary social change; a different strategy is needed for that.

Lastly, about your petty Foreman-bashing: Dave Foreman and the *Wild Earth* gang are probably engaged in the most important wilderness protection scheme far in history: the Wildlands Project. Sure it's not revolutionary, but that's only one part of the struggle: we need both revolutionaries to replace industrial society and visionary, strategic wilderness advocates—you're neither. Now if you lump Foreman and *Wild Earth* in the same boat as Ollie North, I'd suggest that your judgement is severely impaired. By the way, Foreman never denounced monkeywrenching—but he does understand the importance of using all tools available to defend the Earth, unlike that bad guy Mike Roselle who is so concerned with creating the impression of his "radicalness" that he has fallen into the trap of a blind, sectarian compromiser.

Sincerely,

—Kendra Woo
Vancouver BC

Dear Asswipe Endowment Babies and Rubber Hose Elitists,

Well now... after reading Mike Roselle's "Forest Grump" piece in the Yule '94 *Journal*, I've found that I agree with about three-fourths of what Roselle says about the big ten, the Montana rape, pillage, and plunder bill, the democrats, Dave Foreman and his Confessions of an Egocentrists, (Eco-Warrior my ass!).

But I strongly disagree with Roselle on the issue of tree spiking. Now if I remember correctly, and by the goddess I damn well know I do, Mike Roselle signed on the tree spiking renunciation press release drafted in California in April of 1990. So what happened to Mike Roselle? Has he been bitten by the Bill Clinton flip-flop virus?

Roselle acknowledges that spiking trees will not prevent them from being cut, but he says it will send a message. Few actions or tactics get as much attention as tree spiking. The problem is all of the attention is negative. Tree spiking is a failed tactic that causes more divisions and polarization than any other tactic utilized by environmental activists.

A spiked tree in Northern California almost killed George Alexander in 1987, and in the Fall of 1989 I myself had a close call when a circular saw hit a spike on a barker deck in a Roseburg mill. The teeth from that saw flew off like shrapnel from a bomb. Some pieces flew through the corrugated metal wall, some bounced off the wall and hit near my feet. Mill and woods work is dangerous as it is. Environmental activists should not add to these problems with their activities. It is no fun when pieces of metal are flying at you like bullets. I've been there!

Roselle says, "What we want is nothing short of a revolution... and everything, every assumption, every institution needs to be challenged. Now!" Mike is so goddamn right here! We do want a revolution, but a revolution is built from a real movement using real tactics that really work! That revolution will in our wildest dreams never be built unless alliances are made with the broad spectrum of working people, and I don't mean sold out labor bureaucrats.

More spiking is *not* what is needed to convey the urgency of the situation. Spiking trees plays into the hands of the unwise abusers, the timber industry, and the Newt Gingrichs more than it is useful in stopping destruction of forest, or for sending messages of rage and frustration. In fact, the timber industry loves it when environmental activist spike trees, it's a public relations coup for them.

For Roselle to give Spicer credit for Cove/Mallard becoming a national issue is pure bullshit! There were a lot of people working real hard on Cove/Mallard who never once spiked any trees. In fact, with tensions as thick as they are in Cove/Mallard spiking does the greatest harm possible.

Roselle, Watson, and Foreman can glorify and romanticize tree spiking all they want, but facts are facts! Tree spiking is a failed tactic. To think otherwise is to engage in denial. Reviving it will not stop forest destruction and loss of wildlife habitat. So be a macho man, pound yourself on the chest like Tarzan and yell the primal scream. Then grab a three-pound hammer and a spike and drive some steel into them "suckers" and I'll promise you this; the greedy fucks in the timber industry will cut them down any way, and if you do get caught (the goddess forbid) the good ol' boys—Roselle, Watson, Manes, Wolkie, and Foreman will not do your time for you. Yeah, one of them may write an article glorifying your exploits, some comfort!

One last point, this is a class issue. Think about it!

—Gene Lawhorn

Dear EF!

A little late I read Justin Time's think piece on the 103rd Congress and the alleged co-option [sic] of the greens. I think you got it wrong on the California Desert, dude or dudette. Check out the numbers. You like the 1984 Oregon Wilderness bill, but want to downplay the 1994 Desert Bill. Crunch these numbers: the latter bill designated something like 10 *times* as much wilderness. And in case you didn't notice, the Wilderness Act of 1964 included the compromise that allowed grazing and pre-existing mining claims in wilderness areas. It wasn't a great compromise in 1964, 1984, or 1994, but it's the same one.

We need to give credit where it's due as well as blame. We need to keep hope alive by recognizing what we accomplish, or else we'd give up. For all of us who love the earth, the desert bill was a tremendous victory. Some rainy Oregon winter day, get your butt down there and find out what it's all about.

—Fred Beddall
Oakland, CA

Dear Editors:

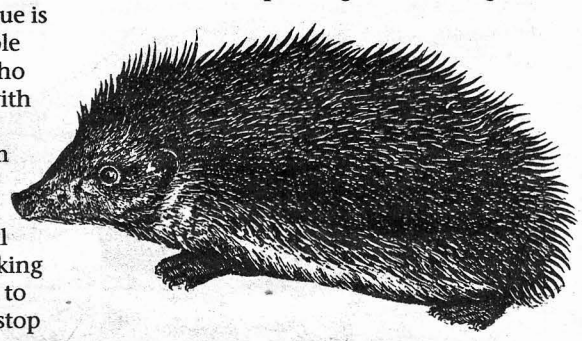
The article in the Nov. 1 issue of *Earth First!* by "Justin Time" claimed that we claimed that I had spent "years" working on the management of the Hoosier National Forest in Indiana. The article then goes on to say that activists in Indiana the author knows didn't know me.

The author shares with Rush Limbaugh the old trick of misstating what someone has said in order then to challenge that person's credibility. The WAFC release noted that early in my environmental career I had worked on a wide array of issues for public interest groups in Indiana and Washington, D.C., including the management of the Hoosier National Forest.

I did legal research and interviews with Forest Service personnel on behalf of local Audubon Society and Sierra Club chapters concerned with off-road vehicle use on the Hoosier in the Summer of 1975 while I was in law school and between semesters.

As I recall Claude Fergusen was the Forest Service maverick who actually wanted to strictly limit off-road motorcycle use of the Forest while Joe Buffalo and his group (I think his name was actually "Buffalo" or something close to it) wanted the whole forest.

Rather than hurt us both by falsely impugning credibility, Justin Time, MD should prescribe action and help carry it out. I actually agree that there is too little emphasis on corporate responsibility, on private lands, and on empowering part-time activists. Dr. Time also forgot to wrap his good points about NAFTA and GATT into his 5-point agenda of things to



beware of, not from funders to much but *in general* through the whole policy machine.

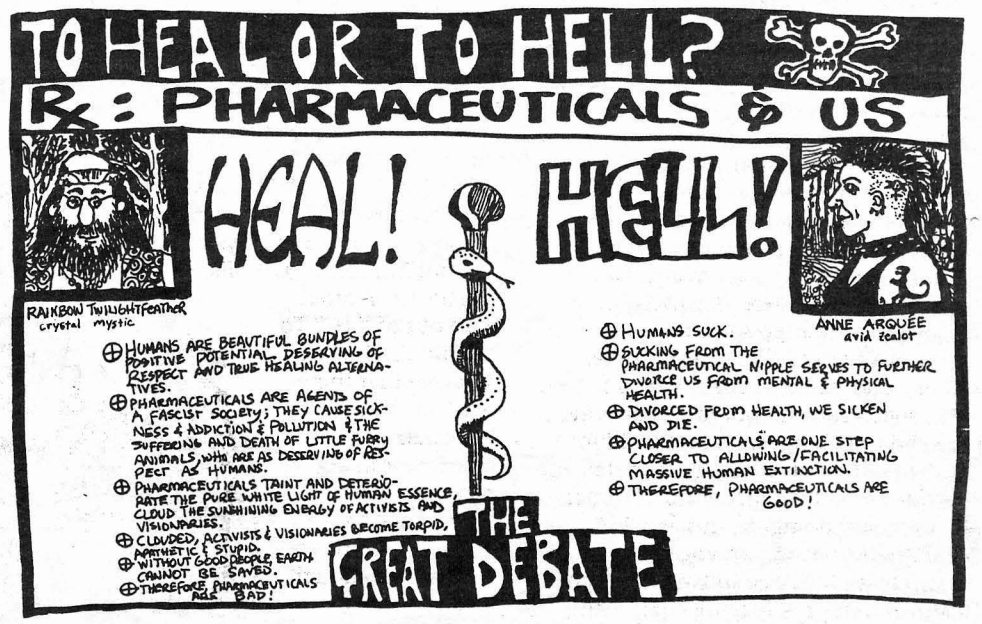
Let's work out ways to defeat the *very real* threat of "riders" that we defeated in 1990 and thereafter and replace them with positive initiatives like putting people to work restoring watersheds, obliterating roads and shifting the paradigm in the process.

—John Fitzgerald
Executive Director
Western Ancient Forest Campaign (WAFC)

Justin Time responds:
Hey. I like the desert as much as any dude or dudette. My point was that the California Desert Act was the only environmental bill to pass and it was wired up beforehand (as a present for former Senator Cranston, at that). Unfortunately, Fred is right and horrible past compromises have left us with grazing and mining in many designated wilderness areas. However, the Desert Act codifies the same outrage in new national parks. I'll gladly take Fred's advice and get off my butt and go visit the desert whenever I can. Actually, the Mystery Riders held a conclave at Joshua Tree this Thanksgiving and froze a few butts.

As for John Fitzgerald's praise, I can only wish that I was as effective as Rush Dimbulb. I'm glad he chose to put to rest the very real issue of his bona fides. Interviewing Freddies during Summer Break probably does constitute grassroots credentials for a budding DC attorney/bureaucrat.

I and others have often prescribed action—far better action than the mainstream groups have been willing to support. Certainly, our prescriptions would have worked better than the failed litigation and lobbying strategy that has led to (co-)Option 9, among other disasters.


TO HEAL OR TO HELL?
Rx: PHARMACEUTICALS & US
HEAL!
HELL!
RAINBOW TWILIGHTFEATHER
crystal mystic
⊕ HUMANS ARE BEAUTIFUL BUNDLES OF POSITIVE POTENTIAL DESERVING OF RESPECT AND TRUE HEALING ALTERNATIVES.
⊕ PHARMACEUTICALS ARE AGENTS OF A FASCIST SOCIETY; THEY CAUSE SICKNESS & ADDICTION & POLLUTION & THE SUFFERING AND DEATH OF LITTLE FURRY ANIMALS, WHO ARE AS DESERVING OF RESPECT AS HUMANS.
⊕ PHARMACEUTICALS TAINT AND DETERIORATE THE PURE WHITE LIGHT OF HUMAN ESSENCE, CLOUD THE SUNSHINING ENERGY OF ACTIVISTS AND VISIONARIES.
⊕ CLOUDED, ACTIVISTS & VISIONARIES BECOME TORPID, APATHETIC & STUPID.
⊕ WITHOUT GOOD PEOPLE, EARTH CANNOT BE SAVED.
⊕ THEREFORE, PHARMACEUTICALS ARE BAD!
ANNE ARQUÉE
avid zealot
⊕ HUMANS SUCK.
⊕ SUCKING FROM THE PHARMACEUTICAL NIPPLE SERVES TO FURTHER DIVORCE US FROM MENTAL & PHYSICAL HEALTH.
⊕ DIVORCED FROM HEALTH, WE SICKEN AND DIE.
⊕ PHARMACEUTICALS ARE ONE STEP CLOSER TO ALLOWING/FACILITATING MASSIVE HUMAN EXTINCTION.
⊕ THEREFORE, PHARMACEUTICALS ARE GOOD!
THE GREAT DEBATE

Some of the Riders think that Fitzgerald is just the guy to reform WAFC. I hereby pledge to give him a fair shake. However, WAFC is an organization that is the creation of four or five folks with a budget derived totally from big foundations. No way does that represent grassroots forest activists. His main task? As I see it: democratization. First, set up an elected board and a real feedback mechanism for activists on policy issues and we'll see where it goes.

Dear EF! Journal:

I enjoyed and very much agreed with Catia Juliana's thoughtful comments about women in the movement and the revolutionary nature of ecocentrism in the Samhain issue.

Her comments may prove to be truly prophetic in light of recent mid-term elections which saw the Republicans gain total control of Congress. If we felt that Clinton was weak on environmental issues before wait till you see how things will transpire now.

The military-industrial complex won big time on November 8. It's back to business as usual for the rich, the politicians, the corporations, wall street, and the pentagon. They will not spare any effort to achieve their aims. It will be a challenge, these next two years.

Perhaps the only good thing to come of all this is that, as Catia Juliana implores in her editorial, the left and others fighting for revolutionary causes and change will finally unite.

The hard truth is that we must unite. It is now or never. Rightists, conservatives, religious fundamentalists always seem to put aside their petty differences to fight the common foe— which is usually us. We need to unite to be effective in fighting back.

Just as all environmental concerns are interrelated so are all revolutionary concerns. It's not just the timber industry and cattle ranchers who exploit our natural world but also the military, big business, and most organized religion.

If we truly love the pine tree, the hawk, the owl, the deer, the mountain, the rock, the stream, the sunrise, and the rain then we must do what's necessary now to save Mother Earth. It will be a tough two years but the past has been difficult as well. Let's unite for the past, the present and the future , for all that has been and all that will be, for now and forever.

—Little Thoreau

Dear EF!J

I was excited to read your review of Alice DiMichele's newest album, *Naked*, but a bit puzzled by your description of one of the songs. "Like a Picture" is a haunting a cappella piece about the bombing of Earth First! activists Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney in 1990 just before Redwood Summer. I was confused by the ambivalence of the reviewer who identified the song as being about "the jailing and framing of activists," without mentioning that the song is a ballad about two brave Earth First! comrades, and a chapter in our history as a movement. Although Judi and Darryl were jailed and framed by the FBI, Alice is describing not a general trend to silence activists, but a specific and outrageously violent attack against two Earth First! organizers. In this case, the FBI arrested Judi and Darryl for transporting the bomb in order to neutralize the entire Earth First! movement by branding us as terrorists. The chorus implores us over and over:

Just like a picture they're put in a frame
Crafted by the FBI
And if we don't stand up and call out their names
The next ones will be you and I;
Judi Bari, Darryl Cherney.

I want to thank Alice for adding "Like a Picture" to *Naked*, and for continuing to be a principled and inspirational voice for justice. It is, however, ironic that the *Earth First! Journal* continues to let members of our movement be isolated and ignored within its pages. Judi has taken on the huge and terrifying task of suing the FBI and pursuing an independent investigation of the bombing. Our support, attention, and solidarity are needed more than ever as she faces her would-be assassins every month across the deposition table. Earth First! is the movement for which Judi and Darryl were targeted; if even *we* refuse to call out their names, none of us have a prayer.

—Alicia Little Tree
So. Humboldt, CA

Editor's response: If Chris Roth's review ignored Bari or Cherney, it's because Roth's intention was to review DiMicele's music, not to rant about the history behind one of the album's twelve songs (or to give Bari or Cherney moral support). Thus the only allusion to the activists was: "Alice helps these secrets to sing out, whether she is writing of endangered native cultures (Make It Last), jailed and framed environmental activists (Like a Picture), loneliness (Trouble In Mind)..." The EF!J has published in-depth articles about Bari and Cherney's bombing and continues to provide updates on their FBI lawsuit. But pausing in the middle of a music review to call out their names should be optional. —RG

continued on next page

Armed With Letters

continued from page 29

To Earth First!ers:

As much as I "support our troops" and offer a part of my life to the movement, I must stop and question something which should be obvious: why do many Earth First!ers choose, by their actions, to enslave animals by wearing conspicuous amounts of leather and eating factory-farmed dairy products or even flesh? Has the concept of "animal liberation" or the liberation of animals from the tyranny of humans escaped many of you?

Let me state the obvious. Most dairy products and flesh, besides the health risk of pesticides, cholesterol, hormones and bio-engineered shit, are produced by cramming animals into small cages and lopping off beaks and claws if they get in the way. Cruel and destructive growth hormones are injected into the animal as it is often forcibly impregnated (in human language, this is also known as *rape*). When the animal's efficiency has dwindled, it is executed. Leather, the skin of the executed animals, benefits the animal-slaughtering industry as a by-product. The reason behind this massive exploitation of animals (and the multiple ways that large-scale livestock raising is devastating the planet) is simple: a few people will profit at the expense of the Earth. There is no excuse for supporting this crap!

If you claim you hunt and "it's natural" to put a bullet through the head of an innocent animal, ask yourself if you need meat/flesh to survive, or if hunting just feels "exciting" or "authentic." Most of us are not indigenous peoples and as the balance of nature has shifted long ago toward humans, don't believe that it is conscionable to take *more* from the wild than we already have. No more excuses for our hypocrisy! Do you think cows put themselves on ranches and are guilty? Beyond stupidity, shooting innocent and friendly cows just makes *you* the oppressor, the tyrant. Stop blaming the victim!

In conclusion, I would like to ask a painful question: does the sanctity of life end for Earth First!ers and others once animals are enslaved in the human sphere? Is it hypocritical to denounce "human intervention" and "wildlife management" when you yourself hold animals in bondage by providing the demand for products created through suffering? Or do you believe in the total abolition of the exploitation of animals? For me and those with compassion and the spirit of liberation... Animal Liberation Now!

—RILED IN N.Y.

Editor's response: Excuse me, but "innocent and friendly?" A deep ecological perspective requires that we advocate the flourishing of all *life; cows, as the single most ecologically destructive agent throughout much of the west, are antithetical to that end. While I can agree that animals deserve liberation from human oppression, this consideration, especially when dealing with wildlands, must come within a holistic, ecosystemic perspective. —CB*

Dear Shit fer Brains:

Here's what I want to know: Why is it I'm not supposed to go out back and get an egg, but it's all right to buy an organic orange that came here on a truck clear from Florida?

Yours most truly,

—TUBER

Noble and Illustrious Journalistas,

Without question, the *Journal* remains an irreplaceable and dynamic part of the radical eco movement. Where would we be without it? Rummaging through miscellaneous moldy and dusty piles of zines, desperate to find that one little alert about the lesser kudu and its plight as the swamps of its homeland are drained to grow opium poppies. Without the *Journal*, I'd be reduced to reading the *Wall Street Journal* over my organic eight- grain pancakes.

So to my point. The Grizzly Bear Task Force (GBTF). Remember this lively and zany bunch who would cloth themselves in bear suits and caper about madly in Yellowstone, delighting bear-hungry tourists and giving rangers fits? Well basically it does not exist any more for a couple of reasons. For one, some of the work of the GBTF has been taken on by the Predator Project, the BC Grizzly Project, Wild Forever and others. For another, I was the coordinator of the GBTF, and have now dedicated my activist energies to that wacky crowd of corporate raiders, the Native Forest Network. So, while I still try to keep up with grizzly issues and write those letters and make those phone calls, the Bear is not and cannot be my main focus. It hurts to say this, as I still (and always will) owe a deep debt to the Great Bear.

There are two options here. One is that we "delist" the GBTF altogether. To keep it listed as an EF! group is inaccurate, because the GBTF basically does not exist any more. People write to me to get involved and I have to direct them elsewhere. The other option (much preferred!) is if someone else takes on the work of defending the Bear under the EF! banner. Any interested folk out there?? I will glady share my knowledge, contacts, files etc. with whoever wanted to take this on, under whatever name (does not have to be the GBTF). Until someone does so, I will have to ask the *Journal* to take the GBTF off of the list of EF! projects.

Meanwhile here's a list of hard-working grizzly defenders:

Swan View Coalition, Keith Hammer POB 1901, Kalispell, MT 59901, (406) 755-1379; Predator Project, Tom Skeele, POB 6733 Bozeman, MT 59771-6733, (406) 587-3389; Wild Forever, Adam Ruben, 101 E Broadway Suite 410 Missoula, MT 59802, (406) 549-1656; Great Bear Foundation, POB 2699 Missoula, MT 59806, (406) 721-3009.

The Bear still needs lots more defenders. The threats to the Bear are mounting. Eight grizzlies were removed from the Yellowstone ecosystem this year, at the same time managers are moving to take the Yellowstone population off the threatened list. Six of 14 radio-collared grizzly bears along Montana's North Fork of the Flathead River disppeared in a year. You get the idea. Help the Bear! Get in touch:

Randall Restless

—PHIL KNIGHT
PO BOX 6151
BOZEMAN, MT 59771
(406) 585-9211.

Dear Journal Crew,

As the year runs out, I wanted to take a minute to thank all of you who labor to produce *Earth First! Journal*. Not only does it keep me informed of who's really working for the Earth, thus allowing me to send my meager donations where they can really do some good, and away from the co-opted "Nationals," but it also serves as a vital link of sanity: I know I'm not crazy when I have the testimony of like-minded folk despite the constant brain-washing we all undergo every day living within the dominant culture.

You have a tough job as editors, and my plea is that each issue you cover not only news of the struggle, but that you also: expose the collaborators (e.g. "The Browning of America"), allow expressions of various eco-philosophies and eco-psychologies (different folks finding different ways to bond with the Earth and discover their true Greater Self), and publicize ways we can support one another in maintaining our vision of a decent life in harmony with Earth and each other. And don't forget to talk about the job we experience in opening up to the astonishing wonder of which we are one humble particle! Hang in there!

—"JACK PINE"

Dear Kimberly Dawn,

I read with interest your editorial in the Yule '94 issue of *EF! Journal*. I feel the direction of the *Journal* is a good one and serves well the many aspects of the movement. I think that expanding the *Journal's* role towards investigative reporting is a good idea, but why not make this compatible with the newsletter format?

I love the *Journal* and I'm listening! Your efforts and that of the other staffers are not in vain! Although I'm no longer bright eyed, I am still bushy tailed and will soon be released from prison after 8 long years. I plan to join the battle to save wild places in my home state of Arizona and will do so in a very direct manner.

For all that's wild!

—EDWARD LIVELY #61941
ASPC-FLORENCE EYMAN UNIT
PO BOX 4000
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In the Yule 1994 *Journal* Techie Whore wrote a brief letter about the naivety of the ALFSG feeling confident that their files were protected with a password system.

As the person who wrote the press release Techie referred to and also the person who deals with the computer files (i.e. the local computer geek) I must say that I erred in my original description of our protection system as a password-based one. What we really had, and have again, is an algorithmic encryption program accessible only by password. So we have double protection.

Just to reassure all of you who feared our files might have been accessed from the recent burglary—although Techie Whore might disagree (and if you do, please advise us on how to better protect our data), we are still confident that our encryption program kept our data safe.

We would also encourage any other computer geeks out there who have information on computer security to write an article for the *Journal* explaining the different kinds of systems. I don't know enough about the lingo to accurately write it myself.

Keep up the good work Journalistas and Happy New Year!

Towards animal liberation and freedom for all political prisoners,

—ZABAGLIONE
FOR THE NORTH AMERICAN ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT SUPPORTERS GROUP

Editor's response: No, please don't write an article about techie computer password stuff. How about writing a short letter explaining where one would get that info instead. Thanks. —KD

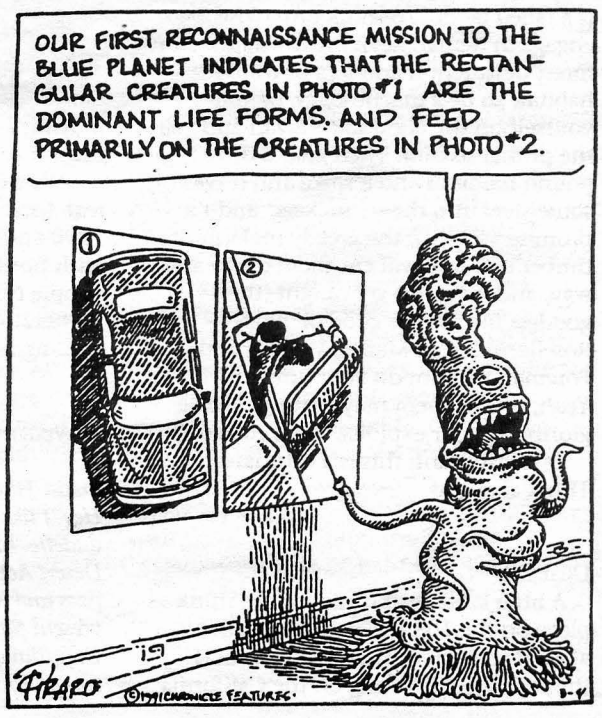
Letters editor: *EF! Journal*

Arizona's Governor Symington says if we did away with the Endangered Species Act, we could avoid forest fires like the Tonto National Forest's 1990 Dude fire. What endangered species was responsible for the Dude fire, Governor Symington? The Dude fire occurred in 1990 but the Mexican Spotted Owl was not listed as an endangered species until 1993.

Even if the Tonto Forest was pretending to manage their forests for old-growth-dependent species like the owl before the Dude, the owl would have had nothing to do with that fire. Why? The area where the fire started and primarily burned hasn't seen spotted owls for almost a century. The Tonto has been so abusively logged for decades that no old growth remains there for the owl except in a few remote canyons inaccessible to logging.

Portions of the Tonto's even-aged monoculture comprise one of the southwest's most ecologically sterile forests and stream habitats—due to the unbridled logging and grazing Symington would now advocate. At the end of World War I, a few wet years, a good cone crop, abusive overgrazing (normal grass vegetation was not allowed to suppress pine sapling overabundance) and fire suppression resulted in unwanted densities of trees everywhere. These "dog-hair" thickets that plague Arizona's forests come from decades of overlogging, overgrazing and fire suppression. Why does Symington only listen to the ranching and logging industry? Their non-sustainable logging and short-sighted greed has brought the Tonto to its knees. If Symington has his way we can kiss the Coconino, Apache-Sitgreaves and Kaibab good-bye too.

—HAL NORRID
TEMPE, AZ


OUR FIRST RECONNAISSANCE MISSION TO THE BLUE PLANET INDICATES THAT THE RECTANGULAR CREATURES IN PHOTO #1 ARE THE DOMINANT LIFE FORMS, AND FEED PRIMARILY ON THE CREATURES IN PHOTO #2.
1
2
TIRADO
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ARMED WITH VISIONS

Clear as cut glass
& just as dangerous

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SEND POEMS TO:
Warrior Poets Society
Bancroft & Telegraph
ASUC Box 361
Berkeley, CA 94720-1111

Thirty Pieces of Silver

It was a hell of an explosion,
the keeper ledge at Quartzite Falls
blown, chunks of rock raining,
boom echoing up and down canyon,
blasting that furious hole
that swallowed up two men
last spring and once
sucked down my sixteen foot Achilles
out of sight then spit it into the sky
like a SCUD missile.

I ain't naming names
'cause I don't know
who set the charges.
We all have our ideas.
I guess whoever it was
thinks they should be thanked.

Thank you! You've eliminated
the danger, the dying, the waiting,
lining. commands barked out,
one rope dropped as another reeled in,
burdened rafts bucking the first drop
then hauled into a crevice,
river rats skinny-ing down the wall
into the rocking craft taunt,
straining against current.

Thank you! You've done away
with the left side portage,
hours of de-rigging, hauling,
heavy ice chests, drop boxes,
rocket boxes, oars, the rafts
over the first ledge, across
the pool of water, up the narrow defile,
then down another ledge and over boulders
to the churning race just below hell's jaws,
howl of the reversal being cheated
in our ears as we re-rig and reload
rafts quivering in the wake
of the keeper's cry.

Thank you! It's safe now,
an easy run, almost nonchalant,
secure as watching river expedition documentaries
on the tube; another tidbit of comfort, less
danger and strain, PROGRESS, the river
an ounce more civilized.

No sling-shot surge for adrenaline junkies
at sight of the DANGER-FALLS 1/4 MILE
painted on rock, no skill needed
to know which side to line and how to do it,
no sweated teamwork at the portage,
no go-for-the-guts runs at high water
to pit blades against the
skull and crossbones of the
second drop.

Trips will pour on through,
commercials can have their two day runs,
more rafters going bridge-to-bridge
until, over crowded like cities,
it will need regulation, permits,
policing like everything else
that surrounds and hems us in,
tells us what and what not to do.

I guess we should thank you but we won't.
We feel violated.
The Upper Salt has been changed
by the hand of man
and something's been lost:
an indefinable something,
intangibly bound up in the solitary thrill
of wild places with inherent dangers
that nourish

the wilderness within us all,
starved as it is
by smog and freeways.
This space, tenuous tie to the mother,
so little noticed and quickly
drowned by the clatter and commotion
of our times, rises
form roots embedded in viscera
back when we waited
and slept in seed
until
the west wind
brought us to life on the back
of a raven's wing or flutter
of sunlight spinning on cottonwood
leaves.

No, no thanks from us,
Judas, singular or collective,
of the wild.
Of, what the hell,
I don't know why I carry on.
If we're

lucky

maybe they'll build us
a Quartzite Falls ride
at Disneyland.

Bob Finkbine

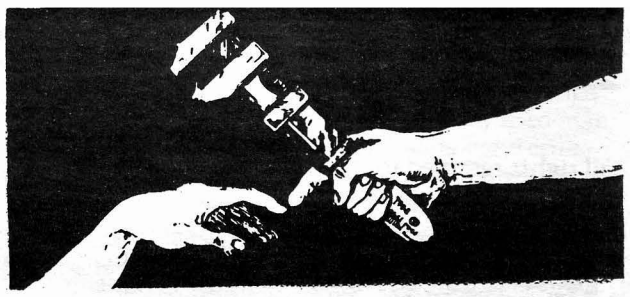
Zoo

the place in the heart where beasts are
kept darkness, moist leaves fringe
the eyelids, hidden in them birds of
azure and blood flowers, pulsing genitalia,
open fiery orange and red pythons
loop in branches of dreamed trees, spasms
of boa muscle digest the mind iridescent
hunger swallows the mind, a trance
of hunger eats a city shrieks of green
fly suddenly over, baboons mate with
neon buttocks the sad manure of conscious
elephants steams with jungles primeval
herds of flies women sit on benches, striped
with sun tigers watch them, remembering
raw throats jaguars and secretaries
exchange jade eyes we gaze into each
others' unsated eyes it is noon
keepers with keys walk through, unlock
our mouths as sirens fly up roars of clerks
hyenas mice engineers leap out hungers
escape their bodies, gulp cages
buildings devour the streets

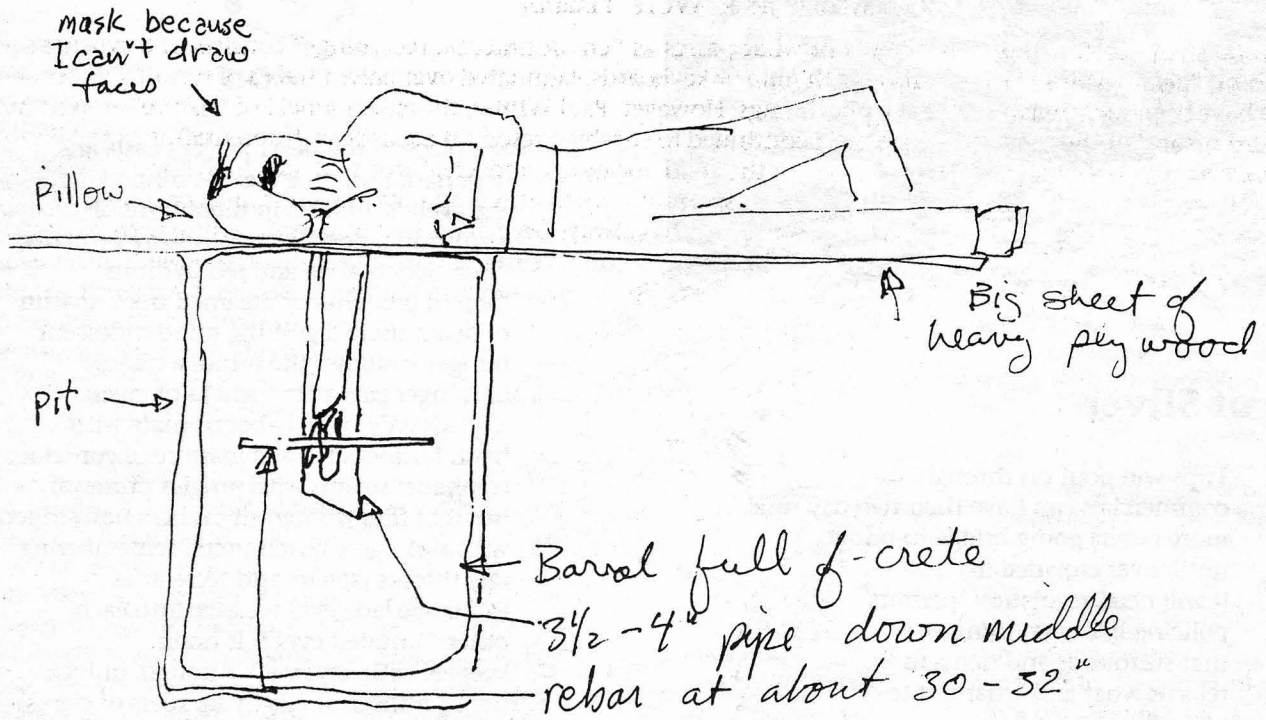
Barbara Mor

DEAR NED LUDD

DEAR NED LUDD IS A REGULAR FEATURE IN THE *EARTH FIRST! JOURNAL* FOR DISCUSSION OF CREATIVE MEANS OF EFFECTIVE DEFENSE AGAINST THE FORCES OF INDUSTRIAL TOTALITARIANISM. NEITHER THE EARTH FIRST! MOVEMENT NOR THE *EARTH FIRST! JOURNAL* NECESSARILY ENCOURAGE ANYONE TO DO ANY OF THE THINGS DISCUSSED IN DEAR NED LUDD.



PLANTING PEOPLE FOR FUN AND PROTEST



Dear Ned Ludd:

Things I learned this Yule season: 1) Twine is not, by itself, an effective way to lock on to a bulldozer. 2) Escape is difficult without cover; habitat fragmentation sucks. 3) Don't fuck with the guards, they can and will beat the shit out of you. 4) Mainstreamers are capable of acts requiring great heart and courage. They sometimes even howl. 5) The holidays are best spent with old friends doing fun stuff—viva Laguna.

Two new methods of blocking a (dirt, preferably) road:

One, the "Road Handler" pit. Typical protester planting. Dig pit to depth of armpit (or neck if your seedling has real hair) plus a foot. Pound in rebar across bottom of pit. Clip a couple of feet of heavy, hardened steel chain to rebar. Pin other end to side wall of pit. Fill bottom of pit with quick-setting concrete to cover rebar and end of chain . OK all this is business as usual. Now, throw an old steel-belted radial tire into pit prior to planting your sap(ling). Plant your vegi. With feet inside tire, the plantee raises said tire to around his/her knees, reaches underneath and secures chain around one ankle. A little attention to chain padding and angle of feet is imperative for the plantee's long-term viability. Pack earth around feet, under tire, in tire and ultimately to level of surface. The tire must rest just above the chain as the plantee may be the only one who can dig underneath the tire (if the law can't manage to remove it themselves—unlikely) and unbolt the chain to leave the hole in the dark of night.

Okay, that one is drastic in regard to how much effort must be put out for even the planters to unplant their sprout.

This next one is for the "We want to be able to go to the bathroom without embarrassment brigade."

Take one standard heavy piece of concrete shaped like a barrel with a fitting in the top for an arm with a handcuff. Bury it on desired planting location to the surface minus a few inches. Now to spare your plantee dirty clothes and perhaps hair, lay a really big sheet of really thick plywood over the large hunk of politically correct cement. It is good to have a padded hole a tad larger than the arm of your roadweed appearing in the center of your plywood at this time. Now maybe a bit of cover dirt, a thermarest, loaf of bread, a jug of water, a book of Robinson Jeffers and thou beside me in the roadway are paradise enough...

For those activists with thicker skulls, the plywood is the same chinese puzzle lock piece created by the tire. No barrel removal 'til you lose the board, officer, and I think the earth hath it in mind to dull and impede yer saw.

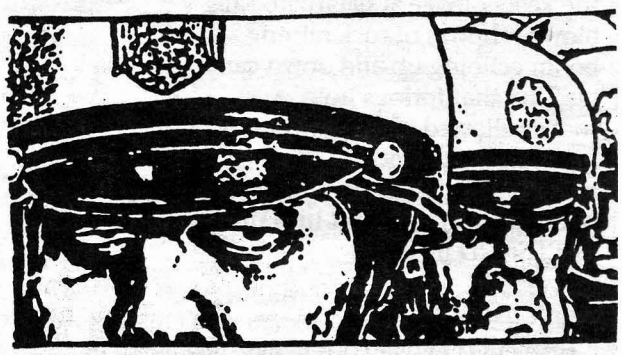
Use variations of the "puzzle-lock piece" to rejuvenate old thwarted strategies but be sure to provide for comfort and plant *effectively*. A compromised road block looks stupid, is demoralizing, and your shrubs are off to the local pokey. Be flexible. One or two lurking Luddites with their may be the second finger the dike needs (hey if your wrist is dry you're not having fun.). Blessings and swift feet.

—MOLLY M

Dear Ned Ludd:

A tip for wrenchers:

I just had my car towed home after it broke down on the highway, and on the ride back in the cab of the tow truck, I got to listen to tow drivers chat on the CB with each other and with the central dispatch. Every car stopped on the roadside as well as any vehicle driving slowly or erratically was immediately reported to the state patrol (license plate #, description, location). The implications for 'wrenchers working near main roads is obvious. If you're feigning car trouble as a cover for a drop off/pickup or if you're simply slowing down or stopping for a "safety rest" (i.e., scoping out that billboard in the field yonder) and a tow truck passes, it should be assumed that your description and presence is now part of the police record, and appropriate precautions should be taken.



Dear Ned Ludd:

The '93 Field Guide tells us that "the FBI plans to spend $82 million over the next five years to develop equipment capable of intercepting and unscrambling digital signals from over-the-phone transmission of computer data and conversations over CELLULAR TELEPHONES."

The August '94 issue of *The Police Chief*, p. 61 tells us that "there are an estimated 17 million cellular phones on the road today, and roughly one-third of the wire tap warrants are issue for cellular phones. Not only can a cellular phone be wiretapped, it can also serve as a "homing device" to locate a particular car—identifying not only where the suspect is and where he is going, but also where he has been."

Time flies when you're having fun. Let the buyer beware.

—LOBO COP

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REVIEWS

Beloved of the Sky
Essays and photographs on clearcutting
Edited by John Ellison

REVIEWED BY JESSE "WOLF" HARDIN

The travesty of industrial forestry has long been shrouded in secrecy, the clearcuts hidden just out of sight of passing motorists behind "beauty strips" of uncut trees. Like the false fronts of western movie sets, we have been suckered in by the facade, gratefully ignorant of the vast wasteland of stumps and eroding soil that has become our global legacy. Even the decision-makers, the officials of elected government remain largely oblivious to the rate and extent of the destruction. The veil of secrecy is being suddenly and demonstrably shredded, as the incredibly potent image of our devastated biosphere hits home in photographs and the written word.

Now, with the Broken Moon Press release *Beloved of the Sky*, we're given another brave and visionary look at both the tragedy and reflective beauty of contemporary American forests.

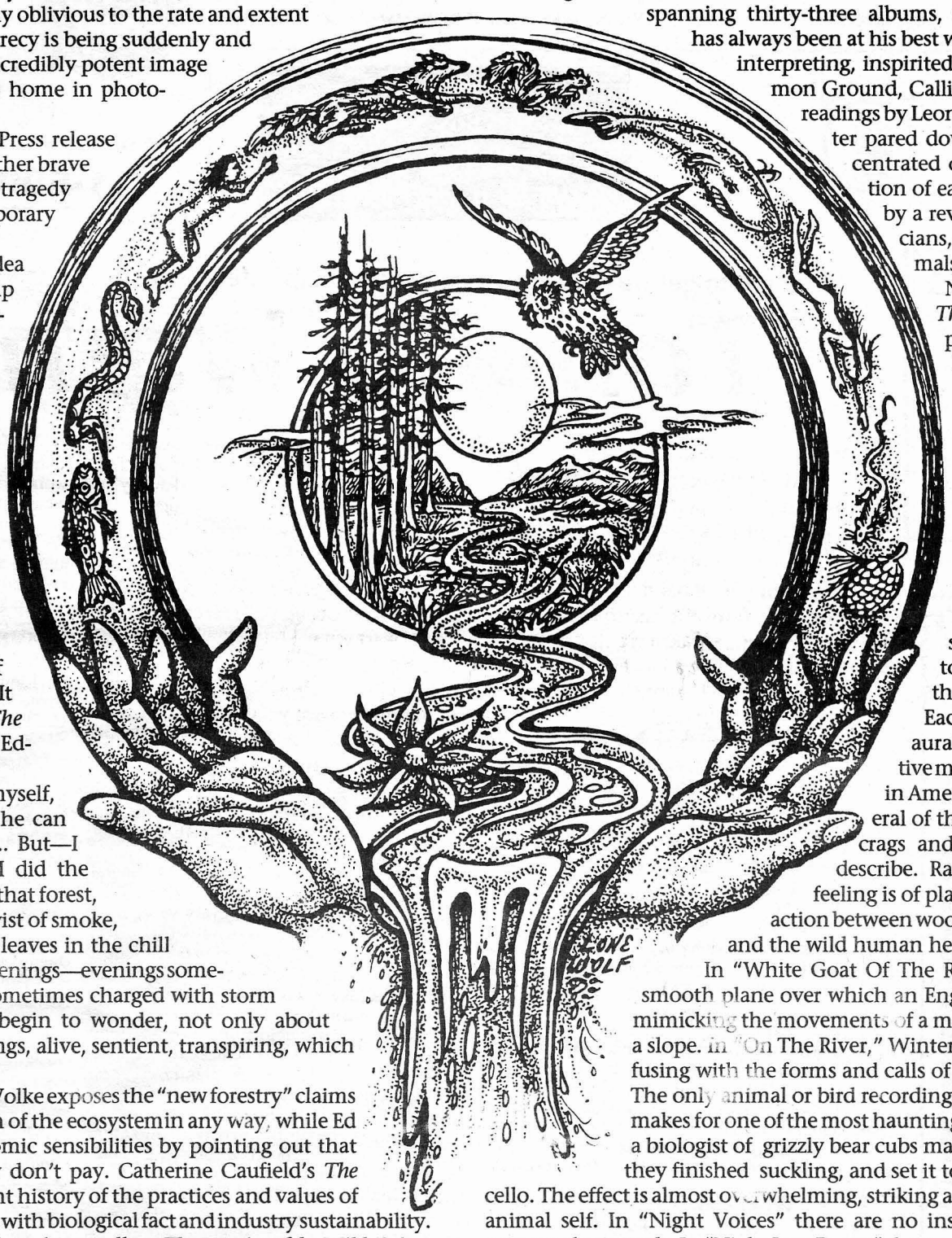
Editor John Ellison tells us the idea for the book was hatched on a trip through the Olympic National Forest. What could have been a revisitation of his childhood source of wonder turned into an illuminating expose of man's relationship to Nature:

"I realized how much I had wrongly accepted the idea that the old-growth forest would exist forever," Ellison writes. He responds to his increased awareness in the most personal of ways, including compiling a collection of personal and intimate accounts sure to affect the sensibilities of even the most insular or jaded. It begins, appropriately, with *The Crooked Wood* by my dear friend Edward Abbey:

"I'm a hardnosed empiricist myself, one who believes only in what he can hear, see, smell, grab, bite into... But—I repeat—if you could spend as I did the sweeter part of four good years in that forest, scanning a sea of tree tops for a twist of smoke, walking beneath that canopy of leaves in the chill clear mornings and again in the evenings—evenings sometimes full of golden peace and sometimes charged with storm and lightning—you too might begin to wonder, not only about yourself but also about those beings, alive, sentient, transpiring, which surround you."

Earth First! co-founder Howie Wolke exposes the "new forestry" claims that clearcutting serves the health of the ecosystem in any way, while Ed Fritz tries to appeal to our economic sensibilities by pointing out that current forestry practices simply don't pay. Catherine Caufield's *The Ancient Forest* serves as an excellent history of the practices and values of modern forestry, and the conflicts with biological fact and industry sustainability. Gary Snyder appears with a piece from his excellent *The Practice of the Wild*. Other contributors include northwest poet Tim McNulty, Michael Frome, Peter Mathiessen and Forest Service reformer Jeff DeBonis. Of particular enjoyment is an unexpected gem by cultural anthropologist Richard Nelson, who concludes with a comparison between the death mythology of Alaska's Koyukon people and the lingering feeling of a great forest that existed once, and will surely exist again:

"The candle's wick topples and drowns. Perfect blackness releases me into the free and boundless night, to roam in dreams through an everlasting, untrammeled forest; a forest that gives me breath and shelters me; a spirit forest; a forest that envelops me with shining, consecrated webs and binds me here forever."



Prayer for the Wild Things
Paul Winter & The Earth Band (Living Music '94)

REVIEWED BY JESSE "WOLF" HARDIN

Much of what passes as "environmental recordings" consists of a synthesized drone with flute or keyboards, laminated over patent tracks of running water and happy bird songs. However, Paul Winter, the elder pioneer of "nature" albums has steadfastly continued to combine resonant acoustic instrumentation with vibrant recordings of the wild locations and creatures that inspired him. In a career spanning thirty-three albums, saxophonist/composer Winter has always been at his best when interacting with, as well as interpreting, inspirited Nature. On projects like Common Ground, Callings, Whales Alive (with potent readings by Leonard Nimoy), and Canyon, Winter pared down the orchestration and concentrated on the emotional communication of each instrument, including solos by a revolving group of virtuoso musicians, and the clear voices of the animals themselves.

Now, on *Prayer For The Wild Things*, Winter has exceeded all previous efforts in this genre, by his group—or any other. There couldn't be a more resonant instrumentation, sparse and thunder-potent, or better placement and orchestration of animal sounds than this. The perfect-time interjection of the pronghorn calf's bleat, the wing pounding of the grouse, buffalo rumble, loon call and whistle of bull elk are part of a seamless composition that brings to life the vitality and drama of the endangered mountain wilds. Each cut was written to paint an aural portrait of various contemplative moments in several places of power in America's northern Rockies, and several of the tracks were recorded atop the crags and next to the rivers that they describe. Rather than playing "over," the feeling is of playing "with," in symbiotic interaction between woodwinds and strings, wild things, and the wild human heart.

In "White Goat Of The Rockies," a cello lays down the smooth plane over which an English horn ascends and cavorts, mimicking the movements of a mountain goat kid zig-zagging up a slope. In "On The River," Winter's sax solo works itself airborne, fusing with the forms and calls of the southbound Canada geese. The only animal or bird recording not from the wild, nonetheless makes for one of the most haunting cuts. Paul obtained a tape from a biologist of grizzly bear cubs making a contented growl/hum as they finished suckling, and set it to Eugene Friesen's lower-chakra cello. The effect is almost overwhelming, striking a chord deep within the listener's animal self. In "Night Voices" there are no instruments at all, only Nature's nocturnal minstrels. In "Night Into Dawn" there are no animal recordings, only an ensemble of acoustic instruments each taking on the voice and personality of a particular creature. In "Dance of All Beings," Winter's sax weaves over and through the drum and song of the Native American White Eagle Singers.

Prayer For The Wild Things is a deep ecological soundtrack, affecting body and soul as well as mind, stirring that dormant region of the human mind Gary Snyder named "the wilderness of the unconscious." Here is a pairing of the organic and the sacred. The cougar and bassoon. French horn and elk bugle. Wind and raven. Prayer is an artistic accomplishment that goes far beyond good intent—to experiential excellence.

GO DOWN IN EF! HISTORY

Calling for submissions for the 1996 EF! calendar.
We are interested in: dates of milestones in Earth First!/environmental history, pertinent quotes, photos, poetry and artwork.

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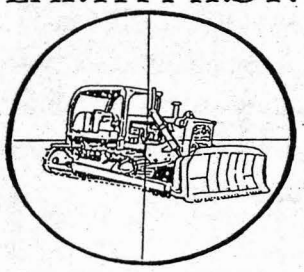

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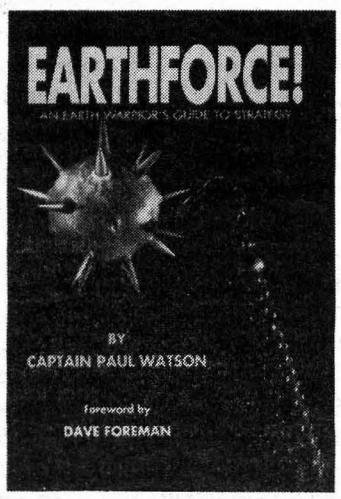

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I've got to get this off my chest before I explode!

"Tomato Warning!"

What's behind all the turmoil in our fruits & vegetables? Get this 90-minute audiotape before you eat another anemic carrot or mediocre potato.

Free bonus: Depending on a doctor for your family's health? Uh-oh ...

by Richard Dennis

Note: The author is a reporter, not a doctor. Certain so-called "experts" may disagree with statements here. This information is for educational use only.

– *Special* –

"Balanced diet," my foot.

Listen: the biggest health secret I ever learned ... came from an old Missouri *veterinarian*. He told me most people-doctors are barking up the wrong tree. Showed me why. This secret has changed my life. Could do the same for you – or someone you love.

Does the old vet know what he's talking about? Well, twenty years ago, he went back to school and became a Naturopathic Doctor. And in 1991, Dr. Joel Wallach was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Medicine for his work with trace minerals in treating catastrophic diseases of children: cystic fibrosis, muscular dystrophy and diabetes.

Dr. Wallach's credentials? U of Missouri, 1964: agriculture degree. Major: animal husbandry, nutrition. Minor: field crops, soils. Key motivation: nutrition effectively and cheaply prevents and cures animal diseases.

What Can You Learn from a Cow Doctor?

Did you know that each of these diseases is *already* cured? Diabetes, heart disease, muscular dystrophy, cystic fibrosis, osteoporosis, arthritis. Bunch of others, too.

Yes, each of those is HISTORY ... in animals, not people! A 1958 nutritional discovery by a team of farmers, veterinarians and chemists has prevented disease in millions of livestock over 35 years ... and nobody outside the animal business seems to know it. Works for me. Maybe you, too.

Minerals Before Vitamins?

Yes. That's the key: lacking vitamins, the body can use minerals. But without minerals, vitamins are worthless. Think you get your minerals in a "balanced diet?" Think again.

In 1936, US Senate Document 264 lamented our food's lack of nutrition due to soil depletion. It's worse now. **So chances are, if you're not supplementing your diet, you're one of the 95% of Americans lacking in at least one major mineral.**

And please keep this in mind: many minerals require other minerals to be utilized fully in the body. Bottom line? If you want to be healthy, you almost certainly need to add major and trace minerals in the right balance to your diet. **Why let your body slowly decline when – with added nutrition – you could help it function at peak efficiency?**

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Special FREE Bonus: *"Dead Doctors Don't Lie!"*

In this 60-minute audiotape, Dr. Wallach explains how he got started in his unusual (outrageous?) hobby: collecting the obituaries of medical doctors.

Dr. Wallach: "You must take responsibility for your health. Listen to the MDs, you're in trouble. I'm 54 years old. Never been to an MD. NEVER. I was delivered by a chiropractor on an old Missouri farm. Whatever an MD says, I do the opposite. I'm married to one, and I guarantee you, whatever she says, I *always* do the opposite.

"This profession tells you to follow their instructions for a healthy and long life. And I wondered just how good a job *they* did. So I went to the Medical School Library at the U. of CA in San Diego. Pulled the ***Journal of the American Medical Association.*** Average age of the 40 MD obituaries? 58 years!!!! Could this statistic possibly be accurate? Be nice to know, wouldn't it? Our average lifespan is 74.9. You could gain 17 years of life just by NOT becoming an MD!"

Info from ***"Dead Doctors Don't Lie!"***:

- Linus Pauling, who won 2 Nobel Prizes, wrote volumes about the benefits of vitamin C. The medical doctors said he was crazy.

Yet Linus Pauling recently died at age 93 ... far outliving those MDs. Until the last couple years of his life, he worked 14 hours a day, 7 days a week. Taught at the University of CA. Worked his ranch at The Big Sur from horseback ... long after his MD critics were six feet under.

- The Harvard University Nurses study, released March, 1993. Bet you didn't see this one in your newspaper. If you use margarine because you've been told it's healthier than butter, you BETTER hear about this study!
- The 10/7/92 announcement by the USDA, linking vegetable oil to heart disease.
- The five cultures on earth – from the Causcasus Mountains of Russia to the Andes of Southern Peru – whose life span runs 120 to 140 years ... the source of their longevity ... the secret they ALL share.

AND Dr. Wallach reads from his MD obituary collection. You'll learn the truth behind the following premature deaths:

- Dr. "W": age 38. Ruptured aneurysm.
- Dr. "X": age 48. Director, hospital dialysis unit. Dead of a heart attack, jogging.
- Dr. "Y": age 50. Professor of Internal Medicine at Harvard. Dead of a heart attack.
- Dr. "Z": age 52. Surgeon. Heart attack.

Your Guarantee

I've had dozens of calls from ***"Tomato Warning!"*** buyers, grateful for all the info. I EXPECT the same from you. And if you're even the teensiest bit disappointed – just return the tape. A refund check will go out by return mail – and you can keep ***"Dead Doctors Don't Lie!"*** for your trouble.

So get ***"Tomato Warning!"*** and your free bonus tape, ***"Dead Doctors Don't Lie!"*** These two audiotapes are *packed* with data from Dr. Wallach's lectures (but they don't have much to do with tomatoes.)

The cost? Only ten bucks (+ $2 S&H), that's all. **To order by VISA or MC, just call 800-441-7040 . To order by mail, just send your name, address & $12 to: Joe Piscatelli, 3201 Kirk St., Coconut Grove, FL 33133.** You'll probably learn more nutrition in 2 1/2 hours than you have in the rest of your life.

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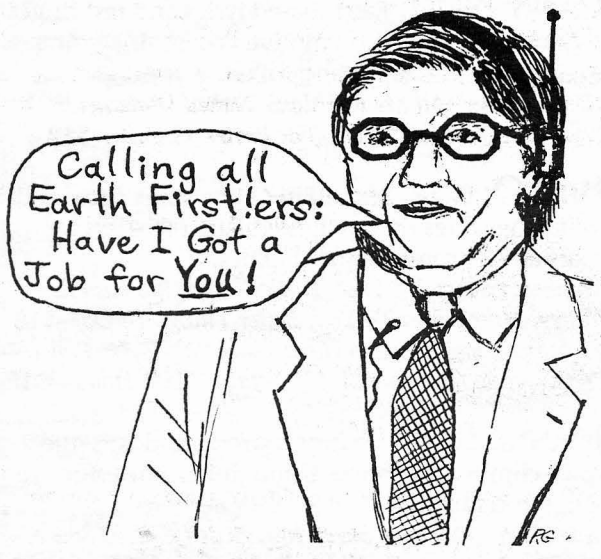

Agents Wanted: Good Pay

The newly formed Environmental Booking Agency (EBA) is accepting job applications for positions of "Booking Agent." Eight EF! musicians have joined together in a collective endeavor to increase the amount of work eco-troubadours can line up. Agents would receive a percentage (potentially equaling a living wage) for each gig they secure. Agents would receive a brochure featuring a brief biography of each artist along with press packages and tapes. The idea behind the project is a firm belief that music can heal the world.

Artists involved so far include Dana Lyons, Joanne Rand, Robert Hoyt, Alice DiMicele, Peg Millett, Casey Neill, Jessie "Wolf" Hardin and Darryl Cherney. The collective will be open to more artists as it establishes itself. However, performers must be biocentric, activism-focused and experienced.

Booking agents may choose to book regionally, nationally or internationally. Please write to the EBA, PO Box 34, Garberville, CA 95542 for more information. Send a resume or letter stating your experience and why you think you can handle the job. Work can begin immediately to book for the spring semester and Earth Week. Applicants must have a telephone and access to resources such as fax and photocopier.

Advertise in the Earth First! Journal

Ad rates are available upon request.

BC to Host Spring Rondy

There's gonna be a Spring Rendezvous in British Columbia! Yes, you've heard this before—this time it's really happening. The dates and location will be announced in the next *EF! Journal*, so you'll have lots of time to get ready for all the excitement. If you can help out or just want more info contact Vancouver EF! at PO Box 176, 1472 Commercial Drive, Vancouver, BC V5L 3X9; (604) 473-0174. See you soon!

Manitoba Basecamp

Earth First! Manitoba wants you! Starting May 1, they'll be sponsoring a basecamp in the Nopiming Forest. Activities will include nonviolent direct-action trainings, media events, monitoring of logging operations, biological research, and more. This will be a nonviolent, drug and alcohol free, consensus-run basecamp. Participants should bring their own eating utensils and camping equipment. For more info, call (204) 453-9052.

Western Shoshone 3rd Annual Spring Gathering

Join tribal members and supporters of Western Shoshone sovereignty March 23-27 at the Dann Ranch in Crescent Valley, Nevada. Representatives of other Native American nations will be there to share insight and knowledge based upon their own people's experiences. Activities will include sunrise ceremonies, sweats, talk circles and a feast. Be self-sufficient with a tent, sleeping bag, warm clothes, rain jacket, toilet paper, flashlight, and utensils. Weather will be unpredictable. Call (702) 468-0230 for directions.

Robert Hoyt Tour

The Reverend Robert Hoyt's Newt-Bashing, Cat-Piss-Slinging, Traveling Folk Revival: Coming to a town near you! Hear him trash the US Forest Service. See him heal the paraplegic cat. Watch him do things to an acoustic guitar that ought to be against the law (and *are* in Idaho and Georgia). If your town lies along this route and you'd like to book a show, call Folk-The-Boat (404) 373-8289.

Jan. 28 Texas SEAC Conference, Austin, TX
Feb. 3 Release Party, Blue Door, Oklahoma City, OK
Feb. 8 Rutamaya, Austin, TX
Feb. 9 San Marcos, TX (tentative)
Feb. 11 EF! Activist Conference
Feb. 14 Las Cruces, NM
Feb. 15 Albuquerque, NM (tentative)
Feb. 19 Tucson, AZ (tentative)
Feb. 22 Old Vic, Santa Rosa, CA
Feb. 23 Bay Area Release Party, La Pena, Berkeley, CA
Feb. 24 Bookends, Pt. Arena, CA (tentative)
Feb. 25 Garberville, CA
Feb. 28 Brewin' Beats, Arcata, CA w/Clan Dyken and Rick Springer
Mar. 2 Fourth St. Cafe, Ashland, OR
Mar. 3 LAW Conference, Eugene, OR w/Casey Neill
Mar. 5 Beanery, Eugene, OR
Mar. 7- Urban Onion, Olympia, WA
Mar. 19-Apr. 1 ID/MT/NE or UT/CO/MO
Apr. 2-26 MN/WI/MO/IL/IN/OH/WV/western PA
Apr. 7 Oasis, St. Louis, MO
Apr. 21 Earth Night Eve/John Muir's Birthday Party, Cousin Andy's, Carbondale, IL
Apr. 26-May 25 eastern PA/NJ/NY/New England/DC
May 26 Heartwood Forest Council, WV

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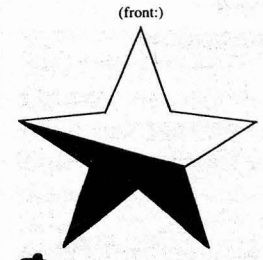

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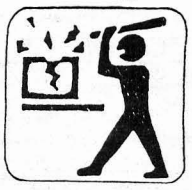

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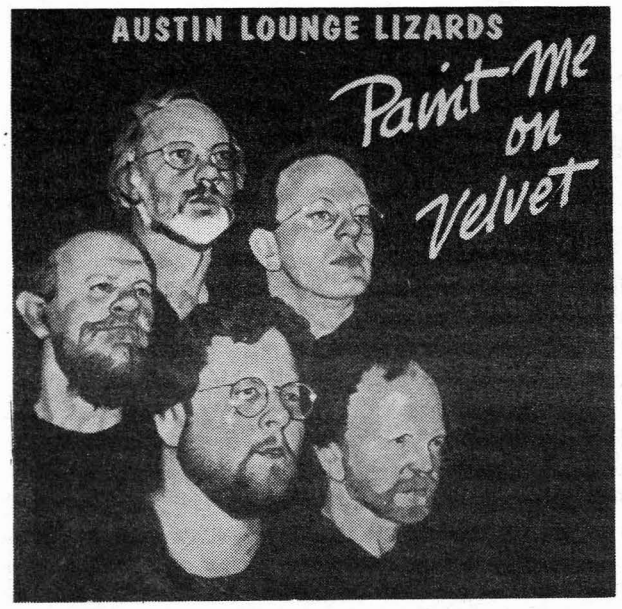

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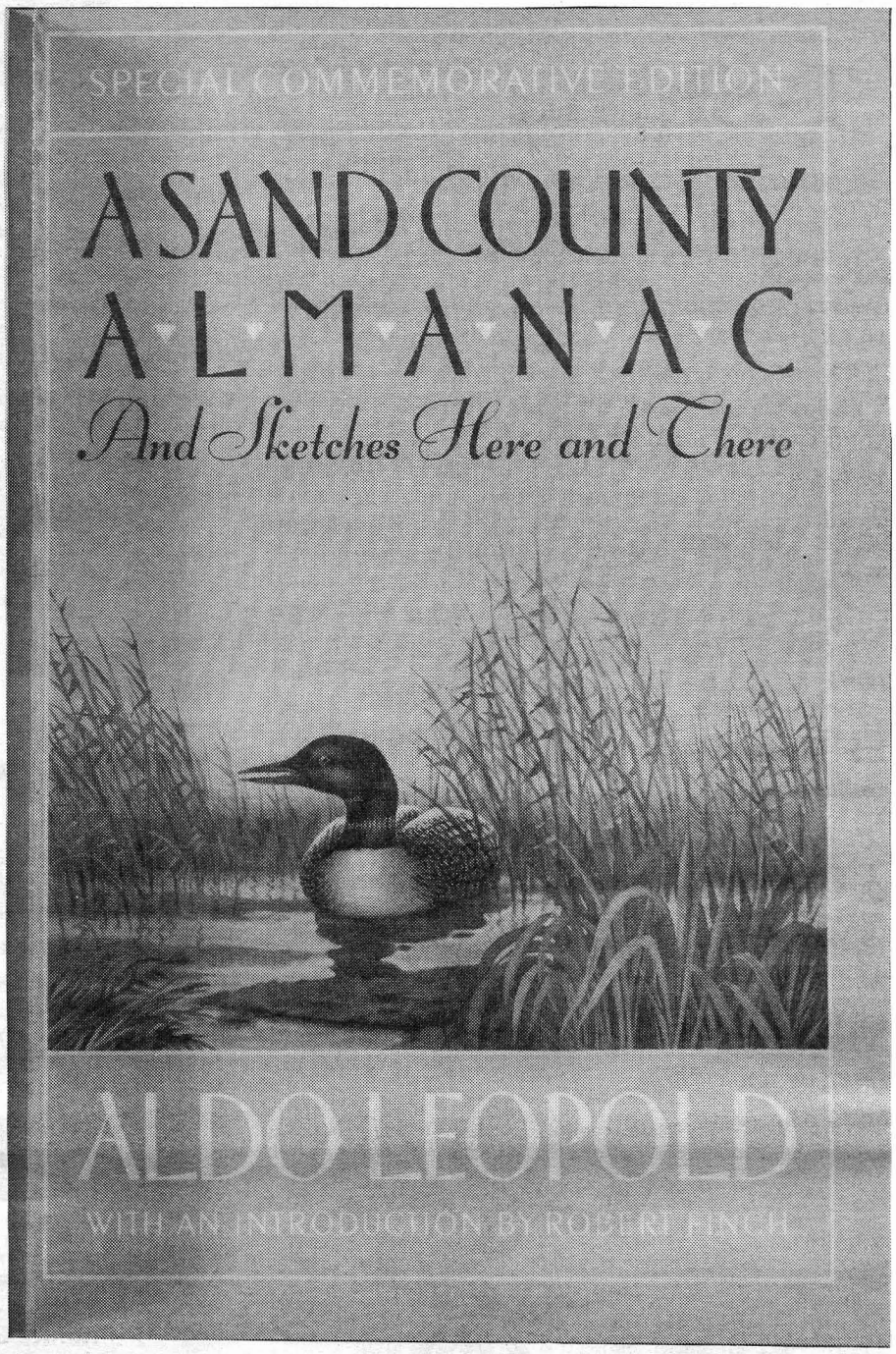

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(Over 60 local groups exist in the British Isles, for a list, write to one of them.)
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For changes to the Directory write or call:
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Coast Watch
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(406) 728-0867
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Kids for Konservation
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Oceans Task Force
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